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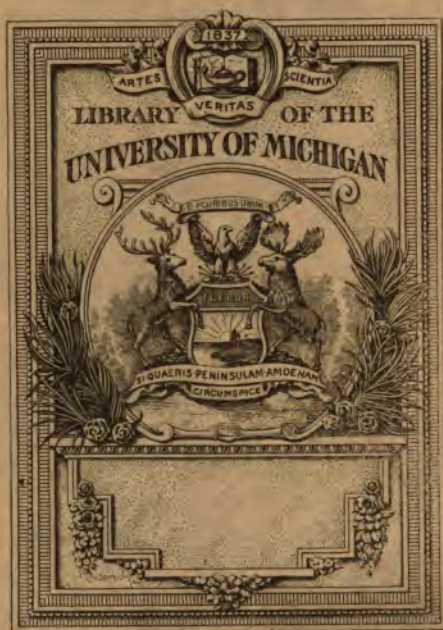
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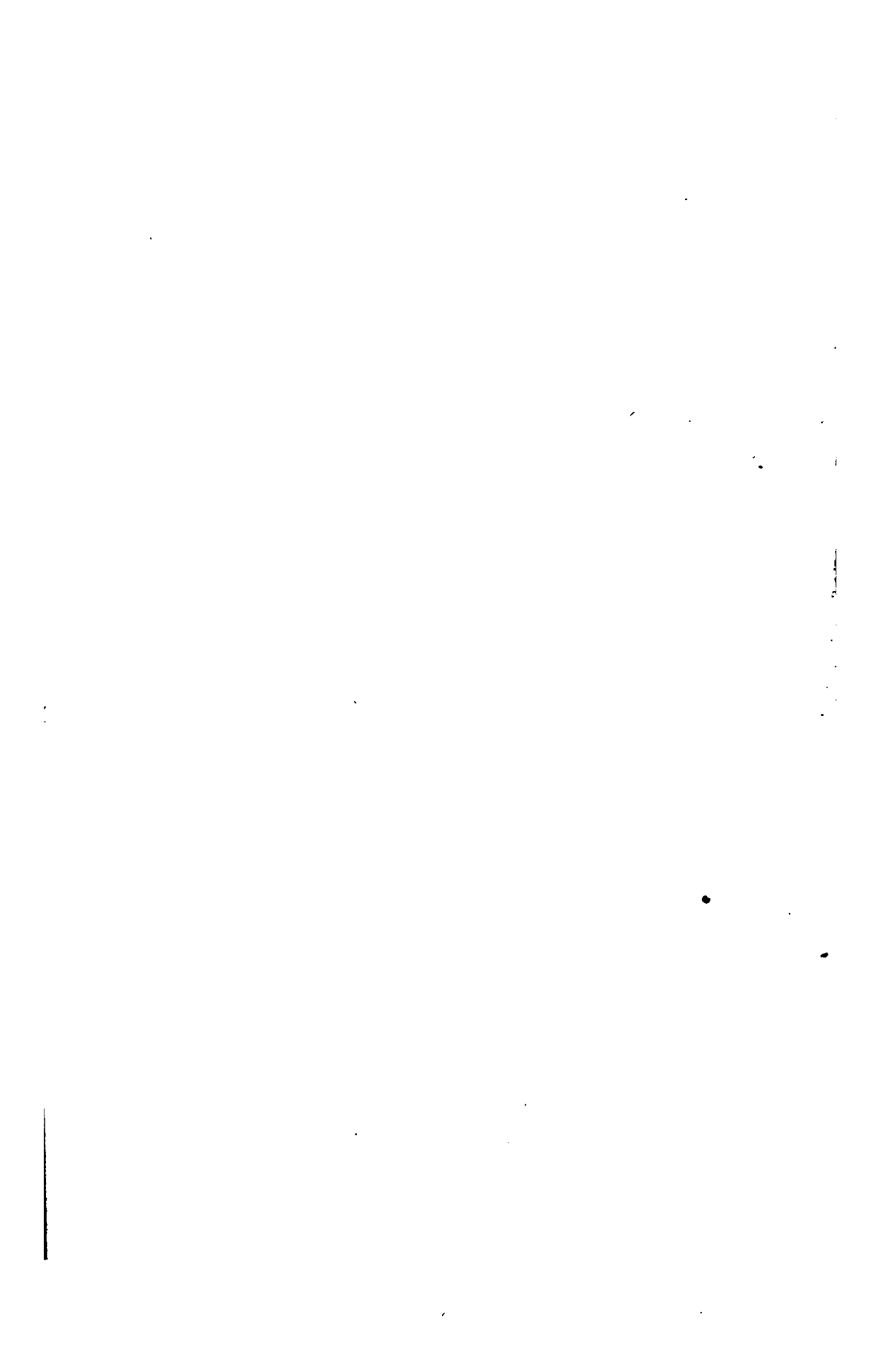
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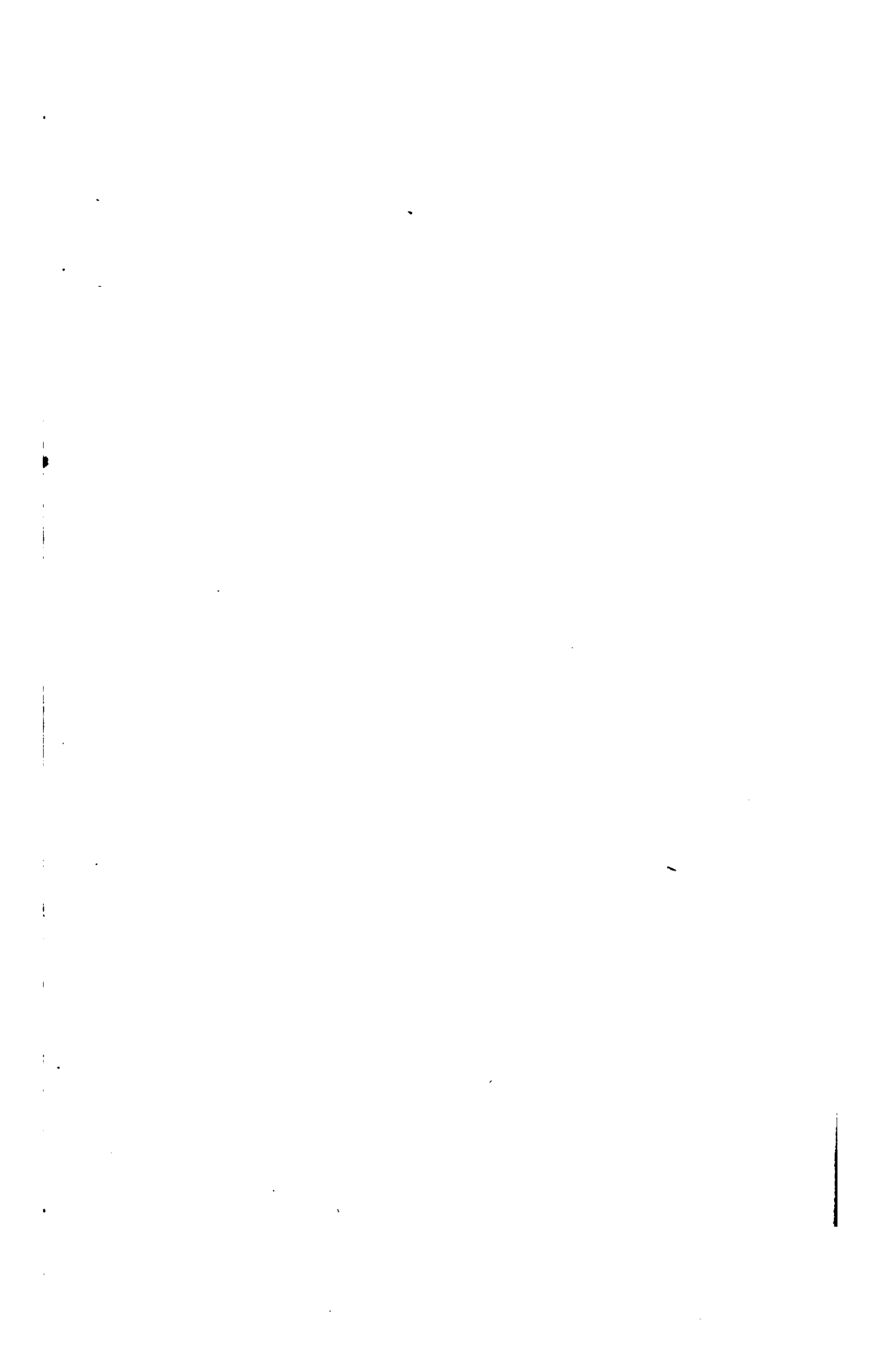
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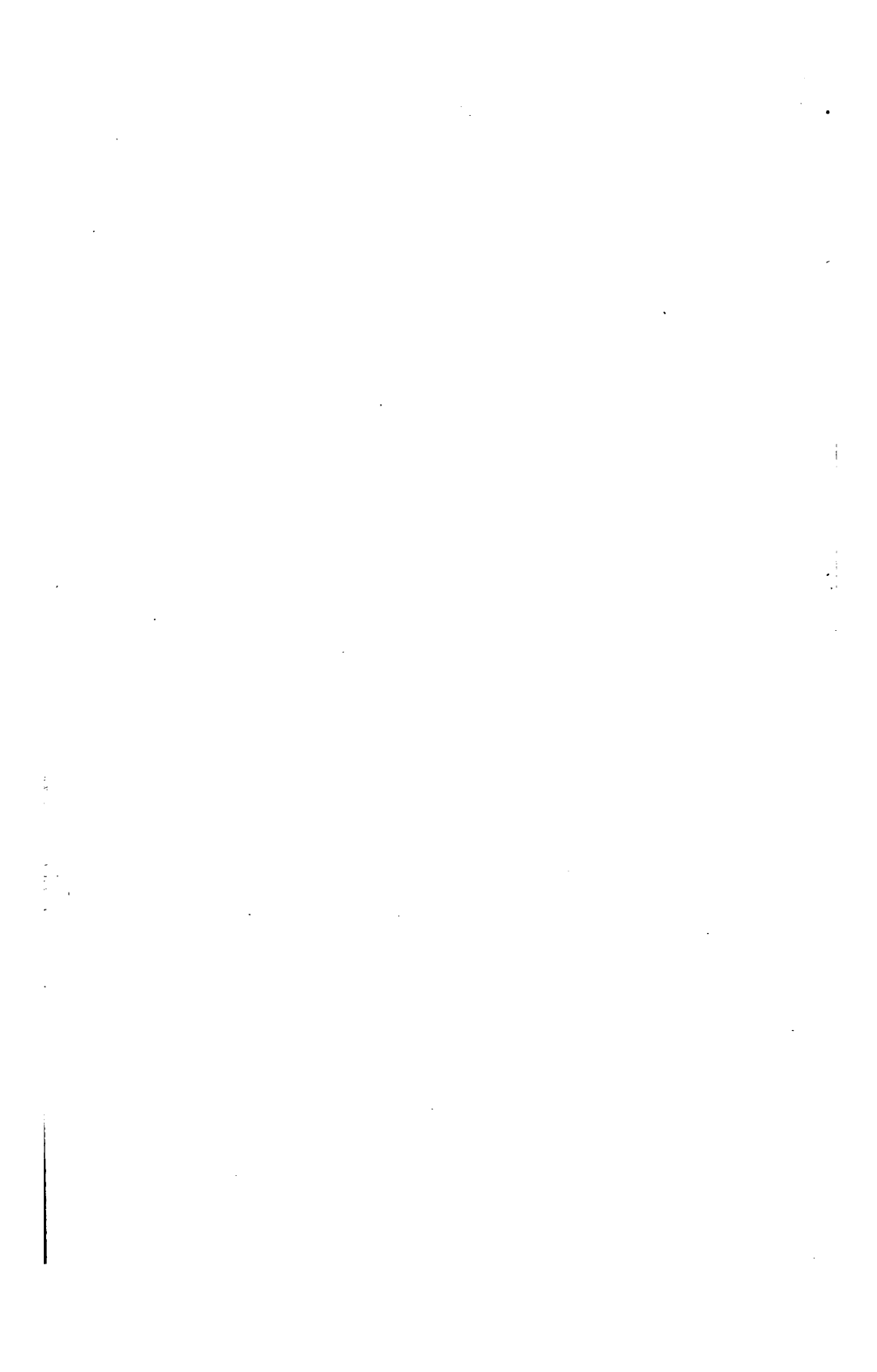
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

VOL. XXXII.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. XXXII. — THIRD SERIES, VOL. XIV.

No. I.

ART. I. — Master Humphrey's Clock. 1. The Old Curiosity Shop and other Tales. By CHARLES DICKENS. 2. Barnaby Rudge. By CHARLES DICKENS,	1
ART. II. — History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c. By J. H. MERLE, D'AUBIGNÉ, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the "Société Evangelique." Vol. III.	19
ART. III. — The Temptation in the Wilderness,	37
ART. IV. — 1. A Minister's Account of his Stewardship. By JOSEPH ALLEN. 2. Christ and him Crucified. By FREDERICK T. GRAY. 3. Farewell Address to the Unitarian Society in Nashua. By SAMUEL OSGOOD,	51
ART. V. — The Student-Life of Germany. By W. HOWITT, Author of "Rural Life in England," etc. From the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius,	71
ART. VI. — An inquiry into the Foundation, Evidences, and Truths of Religion. By HENRY WARE, D. D., late Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College,	86
ART. VII. — Memoirs of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL. D., with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his Son, RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B. A.	102
CRITICAL NOTICES. — Thoughts on Moral and Spiritual Culture. By R. C. WATERSTON,	126
The New Hampshire Book: Being Specimens of the Literature of the Granite State,	129
A Discourse delivered on the Occasion of the Death of John Vaughan. By WILLIAM H. FURNESS,	131
Memoir of Elder Abner Jones. By His Son, A. D. Jones,	133
An Offering of Sympathy to the Afflicted; especially to Parents bereaved of their Children. By FRANCIS PARKMAN,	135
Discourses on Human Life. By ORVILLE DEWEY,	135
The Object of the Ministry. By EFRAIM PEABODY,	136

No. II.

ART. I. — The Authority of Jesus Christ, as a Religious Teacher,	137
ART. II. — History and Prospects of Unitarianism considered with regard to the general Laws of a Religious Reform,	156
ART. III. — 1. The Hour and the Man. An Historical Romance. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 2. The Settlers at Home. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 3. The Peasant and the Prince. By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 4. Norway and the Norwegians; or, Feats of the Fiord. By HARRIET MARTINEAU,	190
ART. IV. — On Inspiration,	204

ART. V. — A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, 1838. By CHARLES FELLOWS, - - -	218
ART. VI. — Homœopathy and its Kindred Delusions. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D. 2. Popular Considerations on Homœopathy. By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, - - -	245
CRITICAL NOTICES. — Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic. Translated, with Notes. By J. G. LOCKHART, The Cambridge Miscellany of Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy. Edited by BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M. - - -	272
Barrett's Course of Lectures, - - -	273
Introduction to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets. By HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, M. A. - - -	275
Domestic Worship. By W. H. FURNESS, - - -	276
Lecture on the Education of the Laboring Classes. By THEODORE PARKER, - - -	277
1. Second Annual Report of the Directors of the Maine Insane Hospital. — 2. Insanity and Insane Asylums. By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D. - - -	277
Mary Howitt's Juvenile Books, - - -	278
Discourses delivered on the Annual Fast, - - -	279
The Works of Charles Follen, - - -	280

No. III.

ART. I. — Great Britain and China, - - -	281
ART. II. — 1. Theopneusty, or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By S. R. L. GAUSSEN, Professor of Theology in Genoa. Translated by E. A. KIRK. 2. History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. E. RYLAND. 3. Entwicklung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes, in seinem Verhältnisse zur biblischen Dogmatik des Neuen Testaments. Ein exegetisch-dogmatischer Versuch von LEONHARD USTERI. [A development of the peculiar doctrinal views of Paul, considered in relation to the general doctrinal Essay by LEONARD USTERI, Rector and Professor of the Gymnasium at Berne.] - - -	319
ART. III. — A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion. By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury, Mass. - - -	337
CRITICAL NOTICES. — The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D. D., late President of Union College. With a Memoir of his Life and Character. By TRYON EDWARDS, - - -	396
Critical Essays, on a few Subjects connected with the History and present Condition of Speculative Philosophy. By FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M. - - -	398
A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. By RICHARD J. CLEVELAND, - - -	398
Virgil with English Notes, prepared for the use of Classical Schools and Colleges. By FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M. - - -	400
INDEX, - - -	401

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MARCH, 1842.

- ART. I. — *Master Humphrey's Clock.* 1. *The Old Curiosity Shop and other Tales.* By CHARLES DICKENS. With numerous illustrations by Cattermole & Browne. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1841. 8vo. pp. 362.
2. *Barnaby Rudge.* By CHARLES DICKENS, (Boz,) author of the "Old Curiosity Shop," "Pickwick," "Oliver Twist," &c. &c. With numerous illustrations by Cattermole, Browne & Sibson. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1842. 8vo. pp. 323.

IN the various forms of the epic and the pastoral, the romance and the novel, fiction has constituted a large proportion of the literature of the world, and a still larger proportion of the popular literature of modern Christendom. Yet its source, its theory, and its laws, have not been, so far as we can ascertain, brought to the test of philosophical inquiry. In the present article we shall endeavor to answer the following questions. Whence springs fiction, — from what elements of human nature and condition? What is its aim? Is it an enduring form of literature? If not, what will occupy its place? In what other form can imagination find its free scope, and exert its full power?

We read in classic fable of the Titans, who, that they might scale the heavens, heaped Ossa upon Pelion, and rolled leafy Olympus upon Ossa; and the earliest of authentic history tells us of certain rash and aspiring builders, who essayed to erect a tower of brick and mortar, whose top should reach the sky. What they attempted by their handiwork, fiction aims to accomplish for the mind. It is the vehicle by which men

of all ages have sought to scale the heavens, — to attain a perfectness, harmony and beauty, which they could not find on earth, — to represent the ideal of the fancy, which had never embodied itself in actual life. The present state has always struck the minds of men, even in the rudest times, as imperfect and fragmentary. This has been the case with the outward world. Nature is indeed fair and glorious, yet not a perfect Paradise. Her scenes of beauty are often deformed and laid waste, — the serpent lurks in the garden, the wasp in the flower-cup. There are frightful solitudes, arid deserts, blighting winds sweep over field and forest, the deadly thunderbolt destroys the hope of man. And then there is no scene, where the lines of beauty are so nicely rounded off, that the imagination cannot conceive of something more perfect; nor is there anything on the earth or in the visible heavens so grand but that man may imagine something more vast and sublime. Hence the fictions, that have always prevailed with regard to a past, a future, or a distant Paradise, where there is no blight or death, no deformity, cloud, or storm. It was in this striving after outward perfection, that classic fable produced the bowers of Calypso and the far off Isles of the Blessed, and clothed the vale of Tempe and the Arcadian groves in traits of ideal beauty.

Still more has mankind felt in all ages the seeming inequality and injustice of human fortunes. The race has not been to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. The pure of heart have been trodden under foot, and the vile have been exalted. The cup of hemlock has been mingled for genius and piety; the world's homage has been laid at the feet of fools and ruffians. In human affairs, cause and effect, conduct and its just consequences have seemed to be disjoined; retribution has marched with tardy steps; injustice has enjoyed long and signal triumphs. Yet there is native in man's heart an idea of justice, perfect and supreme. And the constant effort of the old pagan philosophy was to solve the enigma of life, — to account for the seeming inequality of human fortunes. To this end theories without number were devised. This aim lay at the foundation of the oriental philosophy, which referred the prevalence of wrong and evil to a malignant principle, contending with the supreme God for the government of the universe. Fiction cuts the knot which philosophy thus sought to untie. Fiction shapes its own world after the eternal idea of justice in the

heart, invents personages, whose fortunes coincide with their characters and deserts, deals righteous retribution, crowns virtue in the sight of all men, and makes punishment follow close upon the heels of crime.

Then again, there is the same signature of imperfection upon the virtues, the doings, and the darings of the brave and the good. The outlines of the purest individual character are marred by petty foibles and follies. Splendid virtues are often neutralized by gross faults. The brave are sometimes mean. Heroes show too plainly that they are mortal. Great enterprises are retarded, and great results shortened and weakened by the frailty or the mistakes of their agents. No series of efforts or events rolls on so smoothly or gloriously but there is some ripple or eddy in the current. But there is within man the native consciousness of capacity for the loftiest virtue and the noblest daring, of the power of controlling the course of events in the happiest direction and to the most glorious issues. This consciousness expresses itself through the medium of fiction, which gives us characters of godlike purity and power, enterprises undertaken and achieved in the freest and boldest spirit, obstacles fearlessly encountered and triumphantly subdued, a march of affairs stately and majestic throughout.

Thus has fiction had its foundation in man's dissatisfaction with the present state of things, and his yearning after something higher and better, in his effort to realize those innate ideas of the beautiful, the grand, and the good, which have no counterpart in the actual world. Different classes of fiction correspond to different forms of this effort. The *epic* represents grandeur in action, high and commanding virtues displayed on a broad and conspicuous theatre. *Tragedy* delineates the gigantic proportions of the ideal man, considered as a being of sentiment and emotion. *Pastoral* fiction exhibits the affections and the gentler virtues, blooming in a congenial paradise of innocence and love. The *novel* deals primarily with events, and makes character subsidiary. Its aim is to replace the lost thread of cause and effect, to bind actions to their legitimate consequences, to administer impartial retribution, as the ideal of justice in the author's heart may dictate. The *romance* mingles all of these forms. It combines the stately epic tread of heroes on an elevated stage, with the passion and sentiment of the tragic muse. It borrows the tenderness of the pastoral, and often its haze of voluptuous tranquillity to shed over the

scenes of nature, while with the novel its plot turns on the principle of retributive justice.

Fiction is not then, it would seem, a random form of literature, a mere vehicle of amusement. It has its root in universal nature. It grows out of that better, that ideal self, which is perpetually shooting above and beyond the actual, and which, in every department, carries our aims far beyond our power of execution, our conceptions far beyond aught that we can hope to realize. Fiction is no less the spontaneous language of nature, than are the wailings of infancy or the groans of the suffering. It is too a universal language. With one exception, which we shall shortly notice, no nation, that has created for itself a literature, has failed to utter itself in this form. Nay, even savage nations, destitute of the use of letters, have embodied their ideas of perfection in traditional tales or in rude epics. This form of literature, thus universal, indicates the universality of the ideas which give birth to it. There is in every human heart a dissatisfaction with the actual, the seen, and the felt, both as regards outward nature, the march of events, and human character and experience. There is in every heart the ideal world of more perfect forms, of more exquisite beauty, of higher purity. There is a tendency in every mind to conceive of these ideas as embodied in some past, future, or distant paradise. Faith in paradise is a branch of the universal faith of the human heart. Now, so far as we can analyze the nature of man, we find no innate idea without its corresponding object. In the cant phrase of the day, the *subjective* always has its counterpart in the *objective*. Man's innate ideas are the inward expression of great truths or facts in the divine government. And this idea, so universal, of a more perfect order of things and state of being, points us for its realization to a past and a future paradise. Yes, the human heart in all ages bears testimony, and has engraven its testimony deep on the literature of the world, that all things were perfect once, and are to be again restored.

Ancient fiction dwelt chiefly on the past, and pictured a golden age, when the gods pitched their tents with men, when kings were patriarchs, when peace, innocence and plenty reigned, before violence had sharpened the sword or the dart, or cupidity launched a keel upon the deep. Who cannot see in this the soul's memory of her first estate and birthright forfeited by sin, nay, of her forthcoming also from that Para-

dise of God once on earth, which, when man fell, like the child in the Apocalypse, was caught up to the eternal throne, and which the latter days shall see descending again from heaven, when there shall be no more pain or sickness, night, or death?

"The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come,
From God, who is our home."

"Hence in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

Fiction has, however, always combined with its retrospective tendency an onward pointing, a prophetic character, blending the functions of the seer and the poet; for mankind have always had a latent faith, that what has been will be again; that the golden age will return, and righteousness and truth, mercy and peace, dwell in close embrace upon the earth, that effete nature will renew her strength and put on her birthday apparel; that

"all fear
Of barrenness shall cease, and every field
Laugh with abundance, and the land once lean,
Or fertile only in its own disgrace,
Exult to see the thirsty curse repealed,
The various seasons woven into one,
And that one season an eternal spring."

Hardly is there a fiction of antiquity, however deep in the past the plot is laid, which presents not these foreshadowings, or, as they should rather be termed, these foreshinings of a paradise to come. Either the living seer is brought upon the stage to unroll the scroll of the future, or else the hero threads without dying, the dark way of death, and crosses the black river with the gloomy ferryman, to seek out the Shade of some illustrious ancestor, who may reveal the fates, and fortify him for conflict and danger by the hope of better things to come. And may we not take this universal consent, in a brighter and

happier future as a pledge lodged in man's heart by its Author, that a future better than the past ever awaits our race ; that humanity shall move on in an ever brightening path, evil evolving good, till hope shall become sight, and men shall copy into their annals the richest pages of prophecy ?

One nation only, we have said, writes no fiction, — the Jewish, — a striking fact, and one which seems to evince that they had in authentic revelations that for which other nations strove through the medium of fiction. They, (except in their times of national apostasy,) they alone, of all nations upon earth made no idols ; for they had the true Jehovah, whose only image is that created by his indwelling in the soul of his worshipper. And it would seem as if they had extended to the golden past and to the golden future, the law which was given them against idolatry. They made no likeness of the Eden which was, or of the Eden which is to be. History and prophecy to them filled and transcended the highest sphere of fable. They could not equal that which was written by the unerring pen of inspiration, or heighten colors borrowed from the sky ; and they wisely refrained from fiction, which must have fallen so far short of the delineations in their truthful records. They had in their sacred books a Paradise, in which were soft streams and gentle dews, every tree pleasant to the sight and good for food, and in which, above all, the parents of our race heard the voice of the Lord God in the cool of the day, and talked with him as a man talks with his neighbor. They had also the promise of one who should restore lost Eden, under whose reign the wolf and the lamb should lie down together, the desert blossom as the garden, and men learn war no more. Their yearnings were satisfied, their ideas of perfectness met and filled by this past and this future, which their earnest faith brought so nigh together as to overlap the dull and doubtful present. These revelations solved for them the enigma of life, which perplexed the whole Gentile world. They saw amidst all the confused and conflicting elements of nature and society a sovereign arm, a guiding Providence. The voice of the Lord was upon the waters, the winds were his angels, and flames of fire his ministers. In his hand were the hearts of men. By him kings reigned, and princes decreed justice. It was his to bring low and to raise up, to wound and to make whole. The people might rage and the nations take counsel ; but he could make the wrath of man to praise him, and while

his covenant race were found in the way of his testimonies, he would say to the winds and the waves of human passion, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my servants no harm." For the sins of their first parents, Eden had indeed been barred by the angel of the flaming sword. For their own sins and the sins of their fathers, had the hour of redemption been delayed. But the time was approaching, the feet of those who should bring the glad tidings, were already on the mountains. With such a faith, for them to have given birth to a fictitious literature would have been as unnatural as to light a candle at noonday; and the absence of this element in Hebrew literature bears conclusive testimony to the sufficiency of the Jewish revelation for its times and its purposes.

Our remarks on the absence of fiction from the literature of the Hebrews demand perhaps a word or two of explanation. In the first place, we assume that the Mosaic records of the infancy of the race are not fictitious, and that the prophetic books are filled with actual predictions of the future; and these points, we hold ourselves prepared to maintain and defend, but deem the discussion of them out of place in a purely literary article. Then we are fully aware that parables and allegories are not infrequent in the Old Testament. But these are not fiction in any proper sense of the word. They are not creations of the fancy conjured up for their own sakes, and designed to present imaginings and yearnings beyond human experience and attainment. They are simply a mode of illustration, a form of instruction, — a mode, by which abstract truth is materialized, and brought down, as it were, to the sight and touch of the sensual and the unenlightened. Their province is the very reverse of that of the higher fiction, which exalts, expands, and spiritualizes the material, and bears the soul away from the visible and the tangible. We are aware also that if fiction mean merely the direct opposite of fact and truth, the Talmuds and the Rabbinical writings contain nothing but fiction. But so far as our imperfect and fragmentary knowledge of those works extends, they contain nothing, that betrays inventive genius, an excursive imagination, or creative power. On the other hand, they are full of conceits so anile, vapid and absurd, as to put them entirely out of the pale of literature, and to forfeit for their vast and formless mass even a humble or an undefined place among the products of mind. And finally, we are aware that the book of Job is often called a dramatic

poem. We should rather term it a disquisition upon Providence thrown for convenience into an interlocutory form ; for it is entirely devoid of dramatic interest. Its successive dialogues, or rather monologues, are not connected with the development of any artificial plot, and the brief narrative contained in the first and last chapters is not improbably the actual history of Job, with some slight poetic grouping of incidents and rounding of numbers. But, however the book may be regarded, it is by no means certain that it is of Hebrew authorship. It has been supposed by many, and not without good reason, to be older than the Pentateuch, and to have been written in Edom or Arabia by some devout descendant of Ishmael or Esau, who inherited the religious faith of Abraham, but was without the formal line of the Jewish covenant.

We come now to the bearing of Christianity upon fictitious literature ; and our readers have no doubt anticipated our conclusion, that Christianity is unfavorable to fiction. But, it will be asked, has not modern Christendom been deluged by works of fiction, and, of master-works in this department, do even Homer and Virgil retain the palm unchallenged ? To these questions, we would reply, that the intellectual reign of Christianity has but just begun. The ages that have passed, have regarded the gospel as a light to be enclosed on either side, and to be permitted to shine only on the straight and narrow path of duty, not as the all-quickening sunlight, in which nature and life must be bathed, in order to be seen as they truly are. The rays of the divine image in Jesus have indeed gladdened and sanctified myriads, that none can number, of individual hearts ; but it is just beginning to rest on the outward creation, on the course of human affairs, on the various departments of intellectual culture. Much of the fiction, that has grown on Christian soil, is therefore of the heathen school, while much that bears the name of fiction is mere allegory, which does not create, but simply teaches.

The great Christian epics, so called, differ very widely from the ancient epics. The latter depend for their interest upon their plot, upon the majestic progress and triumphant issue of heroic adventures, exposures, darings, and sacrifices. Dante's great poem, on the other hand, has no plot, no epic unity, no progress or catastrophe, — it is a mere allegory, with which is interwoven with infinite skill and power a large part of the then recent history of Italy, together with an enduring me-

mento of the poet's personal friendships, and of his burning, withering hatred.

Paradise Lost, as a work of art, stands unsurpassed. But it is composed of heterogeneous and conflicting elements. It blends allegory and fiction; and what of fiction it contains is far from being throughout of the Christian school. While its prime object was the exposition of Christian theology, and the incidents on which the plot hinges, are the leading features of the Christian scheme of redemption, as understood by the poet, the development of the plot is of a Pagan stamp, and a large part of the imagery and the machinery is Pagan, though with Christian names. The idea of fierce verbal controversy and deadly personal combat, (deadly, could angels die,) between the hosts of heaven and of hell, which runs through the whole poem, is borrowed from the wars of the gods and giants in the Greek mythology; and the frequent coincidence in conception and imagery, between *Paradise Lost* and Hesiod's *Theogony*, shows that Milton enjoyed far other sources of inspiration than

"Siloa's brook that flowed

Fast by the oracle of God."

The *romances* of the middle ages were crowded with Pagan ideas and imagery, borrowing their style, tone, and incidents, sometimes from classic sources, but oftener from superstitions indigenous to the countries where they were written, and from the gorgeous creations of Oriental fiction made current in Europe through the Saracens.

Modern *tragedy*, except in Shakspeare's hands, has been constructed on classic models, and has succeeded best when it has drawn its themes and its plots from ancient history and mythology. Talfourd, whose *Ion* is undoubtedly the most exquisitely chiselled tragedy, that has made its appearance in Christendom, expresses the conviction, that true tragedy can be kept in being as a form of intellectual art, only by preserving the Destiny of the Greek tragedians for its moving spring.

The *novel* is of modern origin; and we may be pointed, for a proof that fiction cannot die, to the multitude of novels, for which we can find no more apt comparison, than that of the frogs in Egypt, which came into the very beds, and ovens, and kneading troughs of the Egyptians, — books, too many of them, like that which St. John ate in his vision, in his mouth sweet as honey, but so soon as he had eaten it, bitter. Novels are of two classes. The most numerous is of those, which

are constructed on the old Pagan notion, that the ways of Providence can be altered for the better. In these the interest depends on such combinations of events, as may make the fortunes of the leading personages, and their part in the final catastrophe, commensurate with the degree of sympathy or distaste, which the reader is led to feel for them respectively. These stories, as they are unchristian in their idea, are demoralizing in their effects. They present outward success as the great criterion of character, and, by interposing the idea of a strict temporal retribution near at hand, they veil from their readers that retribution, slow, but certain, which is decisive and full only beyond the grave.

The other class of novels, (separated indeed from the last by no very definite line of demarcation,) includes those, which do not violently disturb the natural order of events, but which depend mainly for their interest on the accurate description of outward life and manners, and in which the plot is subsidiary, often borrowed with but little change from historical fact, and used only as affording points of support for successive narratives and conversations. From these stories the element of fiction is well nigh eliminated; and when their scene is laid in unfamiliar ages, places, or walks of social life, they often rank as vehicles of authentic information, side by side with the works of historians or of travellers. These are the novels, in which one does not feel constrained to rush through the plot, and to reach the catastrophe with breathless haste; but, if worth reading at all, they will bear a leisurely perusal, and often a re-perusal. Perhaps the purest specimens of this kind of novel are Miss Austen's, which are almost devoid of invention, taking up just such stories as are developing themselves every day in actual life, adorning them by an easy graceful style of narration, and breathing through them a spirit of singular delicacy and moral purity.

Scott belongs decidedly to this school of novelists; for he always makes his plot subsidiary to the minutæ of its development. He can hardly be called a writer of fiction. He has little invention, but vast powers of combination. His great art consists in so adjusting the minute incidents of history, and in so combining characters and events, as to bring out in high relief the picture of the times, the illustrious personages, or the state of manners, which he portrays; and it is these, not the nominal hero or heroine, that fasten the reader's interest, and

adhere to the memory. Thus, for instance, we soon forget Ivanhoe, and the tame heroine of that novel is entirely thrown into the shade by the beautiful Jewess; but the traits of the Richard Cœur de Lion of history, as there depicted, present so vivid and truthful an outline of character, that they can never fade from clear remembrance. Thus too in Rob Roy, the authentic pictures of Scottish life take precedence, by an immeasurable degree, in interest and in the reader's recollection, of any of the personages brought upon the stage. Scott did not make, but found his materials. He is not a creator, not a poet, but the most skilful and versatile of artificers. He has been termed the *Great Magician*; and *magician* is the right word. He holds in his hand a vast Kaleidoscope, into which he drops numberless trinkets and gewgaws antique and strange, — he gives the instrument one mighty shake, and, lo, the motley assemblage has grouped itself, shape has fitted itself to shape, color to color, what seemed unique are matched, and the whole flashes a finished picture on the beholder's eye.

There is so little of fiction in Scott's novels, and so predominant a purity of taste and feeling, that, were it not for his frequent and needless introduction of imprecations and blasphemies, and for the contempt, which he is so prone to pour upon forms and modes of religion other than conventional, and especially upon the venerable, apostolic piety of the Scotch Covenanters, the moralist and the Christian might recommend his novels to the indiscriminate perusal even of the young and unsophisticated. Not so with his nearest successor in this department, who seems to have borrowed Satan's garments of light for his guilt-stained and desperate heroes, who clothes virtue in sackcloth, and throws all the charms of romance, all the adornments of a rich poetic fancy, over scenes of licentiousness, brutality, and violence.

Of modern novelists in general, we may remark, that they have painted the outward rather than the inward life, incidents rather than character; and, where they have depicted character, it has been rather its prominent traits, than its delicate shades. They have also written objectively, rather than subjectively, that is, in their delineation of events and characters, they have taken the attitude of calm, indifferent spectators, instead of entering into the position and feelings of the actors, and taking *their* place for the true stand-point.

From the survey, which we have now made, it would seem

that Christianity has done but little for the literature of fiction ; and we believe that fiction will decline in exact proportion to the infusion of Christian ideas into popular literature. Christianity has, like the Jewish theology, an Eden in the past, of which it would make no copy, except in the cleansed affections of its disciples. It has too in the future millennial glories in clear prospect,

“Scenes surpassing fables, and yet true,”

which he, who would portray, unless he dip his pencil in the unfading colors of inspiration, might as well paint the thunderbolts of Jupiter. Christianity has too, not only a Paradise in the far off past and a millennium in the far off future, but a heaven near at hand, embracing the material world on every side, compassing the path and the lying down of mortals, though their eyes be holden that they see it not, — a heaven into which the beloved have already gone, and from which there are well known voices, saying, “Come up hither,” — a heaven, with which man may hold unceasing communion by that ever-flowing prayer, which needs no voice or sound. This past, this future, this unchanging present satisfies those aspirations and yearnings, which would otherwise prompt to the higher efforts of fiction. The mind, that would lift itself above the visible and the tangible, approaches the ark of the covenant, draws nigh to the holy of holies, and brings thence, not fiction, but the treasures of eternal truth.

The spirit of Christianity will supersede fiction in yet another way, by revealing the infinite significance and worth of the actual, by bringing to light the traces of divinity in all that is, by breathing a new life into every scene of nature, by attaching a momentous importance to the experience and fate of every human being, by displaying in the depths of the individual heart, and in the records of every individual life, the elements of the highest and most thrilling interest. Things that are have hitherto been passed by in the search after things that are not. Imagination must henceforth, so far as she ranks herself with the Christian school, busy herself in bringing to light, and setting forth the sympathy and worship of man, the things that are ; and for this alone, as it comprehends the mysteries of an infinite *presence* and an exhaustless Providence, is the work of an eternity. *Delineation* must take the place of fiction. For one who takes Christian views of the world in which he lives, to think

of inventing aught, with an unexplored infinity around and within him for the range of his fancy, is as pitiful a conceit, as it was for the magicians of old to redden with their drugs a cup or two of water, when a divine hand had turned all the rivers and fountains in the land into blood. Why should we invent, when there is everything around us, for us to discover and to learn? Think what an exhaustless fund of poetry, what a boundless scope for the imagination there is in the actual. The idea of an infinite presence in all things seen, in the glad sun and the bright stars, in the glow of morning and the blush of evening, in the rushing wind and the flying cloud, how does it breathe new life into all the hues and forms of nature, load the air with harmonies, and crowd the most dreary scene with beauty! To think of every dew-drop and snow-flake, every ray of light, and breath of air, as a shrine of the Infinite One, how does it invest these material forms with an inexpressible grandeur and loveliness, impart a lofty dignity to life, shed a halo of glory over the most familiar scenes, and draw strains of adoring melody from God's least tuneful works! This present, this passing moment, how fast it flits by, how vapid as an idle tale does it seem to the sluggish spirit, that will not stay its flight, and analyze it, and trace the whence and the whither of its mystery of love! But immensity and twin eternities are enfolded beneath its wings. For this present moment the whole past has been a preparation day, and treasured mercies of the entire eternity that is gone are poured upon it, while the rays of an eternity to come light it up with hope and promise; nor is there an instant of that boundless past or that boundless future, which helps not to make the fleeting present blessed. And then the vast whole of nature smiles upon it. It chimes in with the harmony of the spheres. It is embraced in those mighty laws, that comprehend all space. The stars in their courses shed sweet influences upon it. It concentrates the whole energy and love of God.

Then, too, in every human soul, in every man's experience, how much is there which in the light of Christianity commends itself as worthy of the most diligent study and the tenderest sympathy! Whose life is there, that has not within itself the elements of more than an epic or a tragedy? What more touching and absorbing themes of poetic interest, than are furnished by the life of the humblest human being, who comes forth on the arena of action to win or lose eternity; who does

battle with manifold trial and temptation, compassed about by the cloud of heavenly witnesses, who is to be a member of a family, of society, and to transmit the impress of his character for countless generations, who at length must cross alone the valley of death, and alone face in judgment the Majesty of the universe? In the light of Christianity, how are the least incidents magnified, how does every scene in life swarm with the true elements of poetry! Think you that the widow's mite or the pile of garments which Dorcas made for the poor saints and widows, fills not a vastly larger place on the mental retina of mankind, and has not inspired the imagination in far more numerous, more various and richer forms, than ever did the siege of Troy or the fortunes of Ulysses?

Delineation then, not fiction, — the delineation of nature and of man must be the work of the Christian imagination, must form the basis of the Christian school of poetry and fancy. Not that the old forms of fiction will be necessarily abandoned; for the traits of human character and experience cannot be generalized and idealized without the use of fictitious names and artificial forms. Sketches of exalted character and exciting incidents may still be run into the epic or the tragic mould; and the modern style of narrative fiction, (call it tale, or novel, or whatever else you please,) from its extreme flexibility, from its independence of conventional rules, and its boundless capacity of modification, will doubtless retain a permanent place in the literature of Christendom. But under all these forms, the effort of the imagination will be to reach the actual traits of nature and life as they are, to touch the springs of human experience, to make known the diversities of human condition, and the infinitely various modes of human thought and feeling, and to reveal the hidings of divine power, the workings of an overruling Providence in the affairs of earth.

In illustration of the tendency of Christianity to open new departments of imaginative literature, we might specify the modern birth of what we term by way of eminence *descriptive poetry*. The ancients described nature, sometimes vividly and grandly, but only incidentally, with great brevity, and when they could not avoid it. We believe that we are correct in saying, that there is not extant a single ancient poem devoted to the description of natural scenery, or any mention of this form of poetry. But we all know how large and cherished a department of modern poetry has been consecrated to the sublime and beautiful in the outward universe.

In the delineation of human character and experience as it is, Shakspeare occupies the first place in the Christian school. Shakspeare wrote no fiction. No uninspired writings have more of truth than his master-works. He anatomizes human life and character, and follows out the human heart into its most minute and complex modes of experience. Many of his sayings have therefore passed into popular proverbs, and that too among people who never read a word that he wrote. How often do we find in his writings long passages which paint our own emotions and experience far more accurately than we could have written them out. But Shakspeare wrote objectively, with but little sympathy, with keen observation and vast self-knowledge, but not with love. His head was more Christian than his heart. He therefore satisfies the judgment more than he touches the feelings, instructs more than he edifies.

Mackenzie, though in so different a department of literature, and at so long an interval of time, may well be cited in this connexion for the broad contrast in all these points between him and Shakspeare. Mackenzie wrote with sympathy and love,—wrote subjectively. He is always true to the heart. Yet, from lack of just observation, he wrote fiction. He meant to describe man as he is; but, over an eccentric and chaotic mass of generosity and meanness, virtue and crime, success and agony, he has painted but one distinct and speaking likeness, that of his own warm and philanthropic heart, beating in unison with all that is noble and good, and in pitying deprecation of everything base, vile, and cruel.

We know of no recent author, who has better illustrated the truth-telling power of an imagination inspired by Christian ideas, than our countryman Hawthorne. We have already spoken of his *Twice Told Tales*, in this point of view, in a former number.* We hoped to have received his second series, announced as in press, early enough to have noticed it in the present article.

The length to which we have extended our remarks, leaves us less space than we would willingly occupy, for the author, whose latest works are the text of this article. We will not call Dickens a novelist, for it is too low a title. And yet we know not how to designate his works otherwise than by that indefinite name of *story*; and long may it be, before they will

* *Christian Examiner*, Third Series, Vol. vii. p. 128.

so far cease to be spoken of individually, as to need a collective appellation! Though Dickens sometimes overdoes the grotesque in life and character, we cannot style him a writer of fiction, but of truth, and the most momentous and thrilling truth. He has a deep sympathy with humanity as such, in all its forms, however lowly or degraded. He sees the divine image, where others behold only squalidness and rags. He picks up a jewel among the cinders of the forge, or the rubbish of the city, and it is one on which angels might gaze with rapture. He has nobly stepped in as the mediator between man and his brother. He brings forth the unpitied and the forgotten, yea, the erring and sin-stricken, and forces them upon the sympathy of those, who till now had passed by them on the other side. How lovingly he enters into the slender joys and brief amusements of the poor! Who can read without emotion the account of Kit's and Barbara's holiday in the Old Curiosity Shop, or the scene ensuing upon Kit's liberation from the cruel snare that had been laid for him? We should be glad to convey to our readers a tithe of the delight with which we have read, perhaps for the twentieth time, the following passage from the chapter where Kit goes to live with the Garland family.

"If my words convey any notion that Kit, in the plentiful board and comfortable lodging of his new abode, began to think slightly of the poor fare and furniture of his old dwelling, they do their office badly, and commit injustice. Who so mindful of those he left at home, — albeit they were but a mother and two young babies, — as Kit? What boastful father, in the fulness of his heart, ever related such wonders of his infant progeny, as Kit never wearied of telling Barbara, in the evening time, concerning little Jacob? Was there ever such a mother as Kit's mother, on her son's showing? or was there ever such comfort in poverty as in the poverty of Kit's family, if any correct judgment might be arrived at from his own glowing account?

"And let us linger in this place, for an instant, to remark, that if ever household affections and loves are graceful things, they are graceful in the poor. The ties that bind the wealthy and the proud to home, may be forged on earth; but those which link the poor man to his humble hearth, are of the true metal, and bear the stamp of heaven. The man of high descent may love the halls and lands of his inheritance as a part of himself, as trophies of his birth and power; his associations

with them are associations of pride and wealth and triumph; the poor man's attachment to the tenement he holds, which strangers have held before, and may to-morrow occupy again, has a worthier root, struck deep into a purer soil. His household gods are of flesh and blood, with no alloy of silver, gold, or precious stone; he has no property but in the affections of his own heart; and when they endear bare floors and walls, despite of rags, and toil, and scanty meals, that man has his love of home from God, and his rude hut becomes a solemn place.

"Oh! if those who rule the destinies of nations would but remember this, — if they would but think how hard it is for the very poor to have engendered in their hearts that love of home from which all domestic virtues spring, when they live in dense and squalid masses, where social decency is lost, or rather never found, — if they would but turn aside from the wide thoroughfares and great houses, and strive to improve the wretched dwellings in bye-ways, where only poverty may walk, many low roofs would point more truly to the sky, than the loftiest steeple that now rears proudly up from the midst of guilt, and crime, and horrible disease, to mock them by its contrast." — *Old Curiosity Shop*, pp. 213, 214.

How full are all Dickens's works of those traits of brotherly feeling, which go right to the heart, and appeal to whatever of good there is in us. How does he multiply illustrations of that true-hearted kindness, which can make the humblest gift or least office of love worth infinitely more, than the most bountiful hand-offering of the unloving heart! Perhaps there is no more touching example of this, than where the poor fireman at the forge lodges Nell and her grandfather on a heap of warm ashes, and then, in the morning,

"Before they had reached the corner of the lane, the man came running after them, and pressing her hand, left something in it, — two old, battered, smoke-encrusted penny pieces. Who knows but they shone as brightly in the eyes of angels as golden gifts that have been chronicled on tombs?" — p. 241.

We know of no author, who handles the *pathetic* with more art, or rather with less art, and more truth to nature, than Dickens. There is pathos even in his comedy; and with his sensitive reader smiles and tears chase each other, as showers and sunshine on an April day. And in this he gives us the true picture of human life; for in the most trivial incidents or in the gayest scenes, there is always an under current of the

plaintive and the sad. But how powerfully does he move the feelings in those portions of his narrative, where scenes or events of deep solemnity or sadness are portrayed! How full of the most thrilling pathos is the account of little Nell's life about the old church, her sittings in the antique chapel, and her labors on the children's graves in the churchyard. Whoever has suffered by the early removal of the innocent and lovely will feel the blended truth and beauty of the following touching passage, that closes the account of little Nell's funeral.

"They saw the vault covered and the stone fixed down. Then, when the dusk of evening had come on, and not a sound disturbed the sacred stillness of the place, — when the bright moon poured in her light on tomb and monument, on pillar, wall, and arch, and most of all (it seemed to them) upon her quiet grave, — in that calm time, when all outward things and inward thoughts teem with assurances of immortality, and worldly hopes and fears are humbled in the dust before them, — then, with tranquil and submissive hearts, they turned away, and left the child with God.

"Oh! it is hard to take to heart the lesson that such deaths will teach; but let no man reject it, for it is one that all must learn, and is a mighty, universal truth. When death strikes down the innocent and young, for every fragile form from which he lets the parting spirit free, a hundred virtues rise, in shapes of mercy, charity, and love, to walk the world, and bless it with their light. Of every tear that sorrowing mortals shed on such green graves, some good is born, some gentler nature comes. In the destroyer's steps there spring up bright creations that defy his power, and his dark path becomes a way of light to heaven." — pp. 352, 353.

Who can doubt that a writer so thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of humanity, so full of sympathy with every form of grief and of gladness, so susceptible to every shade and hue of kindness and of virtue, so tenderly compassionate towards the desolate, the lowly, the guilty, has formed his spirit in the school of him, who said, "All ye are brethren"? He shows us more clearly than any other author whom we can name, what Fancy, baptized into a truly Christian spirit, may achieve towards reconciling man to man, and, through love of the brother whom we have seen, towards leading us to the purer love of the Father, whom we have not seen. We close with

an extract from his beautiful apostrophe to St. Paul's Clock in the story from which all our quotations have been made, — an extract, which, we trust, expresses his own settled aim and purpose in his writing, as it most happily does their tendency and result.

"Heart of London, there is a moral in thy every stroke! as I look on at thy indomitable working, which neither death, nor press of life, nor grief, nor gladness out of doors will influence one jot, I seem to hear a voice within thee which sinks into my heart, bidding me, as I elbow my way among the crowd, have some thought for the meanest wretch that passes, and, being a man, to turn away with scorn and pride from none that bear the human shape." — p. 361.

A. P. P.

History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c. By J. H. MERLE, D'AUBIGNÉ, President of the Theological School of Geneva, and Member of the "Société Evangélique." Vol. III. London. 1841. 8vo. pp. 653.

THREE years have elapsed since the publication of this work was commenced, and two, since the second volume was issued. The third volume now in our hands has long been expected, and a perusal of it has satisfied us that the author sustains the intense interest, so characteristic of the earlier portions of his work. We know of no history, and certainly no ecclesiastical history, whose pages are so inviting as these. Instead of inflicting weariness upon the reader, it even revives the exhaustion brought on by much study. Its graphic and spirited descriptions, its perpetual variety of subjects, and its numerous choice morsels of quotation from works of the age, which it delineates, have afforded us so much pleasure, that we would advise any one, who has it in his power, rather to read the book than our further remarks upon it. The success it has met with justifies our praise. The French original has been put into two, if not three, rival translations in England, several editions of which have been issued there, and one of which is now in the press in this country. Still another volume is needed to com-

plete the work ; but, as we have already offered to our readers an analysis of the two former volumes, we will present the one before us to their notice in the same manner.*

Referring to our former remarks we find that we epitomized the author's sketch of the Rise of the Papacy, of its corruptions extending with its enlarging power, of the attempts at Reformation made by its own disciples, and of the condition of the Church when Luther was enrolled among its humblest servants. We followed the great Reformer from his birth through his poverty-pressed education, when he found in the Library at Erfurth that unknown and mysterious book, the Bible, till, against the will of his father, he entered the cloisters and devoted himself to the study of his new treasure. Serving there at first in a most menial capacity, he was consecrated as a Priest, made Bachelor of Theology, and chosen Preacher in the Church at Wittenberg ; already marked as one who would yet be mighty. We gave but brief space to the detail of those fierce inward struggles, and of those earnest cries of his for help from human comforters, which were convulsing his breast, till, when they could no longer be repressed, they shook the whole civilized world. Sent by his order on a mission to Rome, he was shocked and scandalized by the gross corruptions which did not even wear a veil. Hugging to his heart his newly discovered doctrine of Justification by Faith, he boldly attacked the sale of Indulgences, fixed his unanswerable Theses upon the door of the Church, and made his appeal to the Pope ; confronting the Papal Legate at Augsburg, he learned to face the assembled dignities of the Empire. He was made, in the loftiest signification of the office, the Confessor, the spiritual director, the heart physician of his contemporary monks, who were groping their way forth from darkness. The Elector Frederick, his Sovereign, so far espoused his cause as to protect his life. Luther next entailed upon himself the ban of excommunication by appealing from the Pope to a General Council. In the discussion at Leipsic he discomfited his virulent enemy Dr. Eck. He had learned to despise the Papal Bull before it came forth to mark him with its dread curse. The next scene, one of the most sublime which history records, was that in which the Reformer before the Diet

* *Christian Examiner*, No. 97. March, 1840.

at Worms, with the spirit of a confessor and the power of a host, told his stern mission and maintained it above his life. As he returned, placed under the ban of the empire, the Elector, concealing his friendly purpose under the guise of a ruffianly attack, seized upon the courageous monk, and bore him as if a prisoner to his castle of the Wartburg, leaving Luther's friends and enemies to account for his sudden disappearance as they might. At this stage we left the narrative.

The volume before us opens with a review of the aspect of the Church, and of the effects which Luther's preaching was producing while he was confined in the Wartburg. It is remarkable that for some time after the axe had been laid at the very root of the Popedom and of all its dependent branches, the external appearance of things remained unaltered. The mummeries at the altar were continued, the monastic vows were uttered, friars wandered like vagabonds and sound hearers, the rule of celibacy was unquestioned, and there was no outward sign of the renewal which was working secretly. The appearance was deceptive. It was necessary that the minds of the wise and of the ignorant, of the courageous and the timid should be wrought upon before peace was broken and tumult began. Yet there was vitality and intense excitement heretofore unknown; a strong under current with a resistless action was secretly working the revolution. Luther's seclusion was good for himself and for his cause; an all-wise Providence appeared in it. He had time to learn his own spirit and to study out the elementary literature of the Reformation. In the mean while he was missed and mourned by the nation. All sorts of rumors, respecting his fate by death or assassination, were repeated from mouth to mouth. The monks at first rejoiced in hoping that the worst fate had befallen him; but they soon found that the mystery which hung over his sudden and mysterious disappearance was the spring of a more dangerous agitation than any word or act of his had produced. A Roman Catholic, writing to the Archbishop of Mentz, said, "The only way of extricating ourselves is to light our torches, and go searching through the earth for Luther, till we can restore him to the nation that *will* have him." As our author adds, "It might have been thought that the pallid ghost of the Reformer, dragging his chain, was spreading terror around and calling for vengeance." While his friends were giving vent to their lamentations, tidings of his safety arrived. The Imperial

Edict and the Papal Bull were alike harmless and despised. The University of Wittemberg was on the side of the Reformer.

The Knight George, Luther's prison title, was brought to the door of death by severe illness, and by his intense spiritual struggles and trials. He wrote to Melancthon for comfort. To fill up his time, and to compose his mind, he began to write and to issue small tracts, attacking abuses with the weapons of truth. His first assault was upon the Confessional, where a tyranny over consciences, and a perversion of christian sincerity were so glaringly apparent. Feldkirchen, pastor of Kemberg, the first of those who had sought spiritual guidance from Luther, struck the foremost direct blow upon the external fabric of Romanism by marrying. Luther's joy was somewhat qualified by distrust of the lawfulness of this step, of which he was not yet satisfied. "I am all admiration," says he, "of the new bridegroom of Kemberg, who moves on fearlessly in the midst of all this hubbub." But after he was satisfied that priests might and ought to marry, the marriage of friars and monks was wholly another question to him, and about this his doubts were strong. He hesitated to advance to so bold a step as the breaking up of monastic institutions and disbanding the great army of the Pope. But his doubts were soon set at rest; he saw the iniquity of monastic vows,—he published a bold protest against them, which he dedicated to his father, who might now once more see his son free from the bondage which he had submitted to against that father's will.

Presuming upon the seclusion of the dreaded champion of innovation, Albert, the Archbishop and Elector of Mentz, encouraged the vendors of Indulgences with such words as these; "Do not fear, we have silenced him, go shear the flock in peace; the monk is in prison, under bolts and bars; and this time he will be clever indeed, if he disturbs us at our work." The impious traffic was revived, and mountebank preachers sold their wares in the churches of Halle. Luther, but feebly restraining the furious indignation of his breast, wrote a letter to the Archbishop threatening him with the wider censure of a book; and the proud prince and primate condescended to address a supplicatory answer to the poor monk at the Wartburg. Luther employed himself diligently in the translation of the Scriptures into German. So earnestly did he long for communion with his friends, that he presumed to leave the Wart-

burg on a short visit to Wittenberg. The celebrated school of the Sorbonne at Paris issued its malediction against him, but Melancthon zealously and triumphantly wrote his defence.

The next blow aimed at the externals of the church was struck by the monk Gabriel, who preaching at Wittenberg first set forth the true Supper of the Lord, demanding communion in both kinds, instead of the mummery of the mass; and then with a bold assault upon monkery, he so shamed and convinced the inmates of the convent, that it was well nigh deserted. The University of Wittenberg sided for reform. The Mass was abolished, and the true Lord's Supper was administered in its place. Now the Reformation consisted not only in bold words, but in visible acts and signs. At this stage of its progress, that evil leaven of enthusiasm and fanaticism, which has ever since been the scourge and the shame of Protestantism, began to work. From the village of Zwickau in Saxony came forth some untaught mechanics and youthful students, who claimed direct inspiration from God, spurning alike the Church and the Bible. The friends of reform thought their cause had suffered shipwreck, when they witnessed the fanatical multitudes who hailed with joy these fanatical prophets. Melancthon, who sought to meet them with mild words, was himself troubled with their doctrine of Anabaptism. The church of Rome gloried in the confusion and found comfort in that early disunion, which afterwards afforded Bossuet so triumphant a theme of reproach, in the "Variations of Protestantism." No one could quell the tumult but Luther, and he was far off. He heard with sorrow, but without dismay. He was loudly called upon, for he could interpret the new spirit as far as it was good or evil. Here is the test which he offered to try the prophets, in a letter to Melancthon. "Ask them if they have known those spiritual heavings, those pangs of God's new creation, those deaths and hells which accompany a real regeneration. And if they speak only of soft and tranquil impressions, piety and devotion as they phrase it, don't believe them. Would you learn when, where, and how God speaks to men? Listen to the word; '*As a lion He has broken all my bones, I am cast out before His face, and my life is brought down to the gates of death.*'" At a time of peculiar danger to his person he came forth from his concealment and journeyed to Wittenberg. At the Black Bear inn at Jena, on his way, he had a romantic encounter with two Swiss students, who had

travelled on foot from their homes, determined to die rather than return without a sight of the renowned monk that fearlessly bore the brand of Church and Empire. Luther wrote to the Elector to inform him of his coming. He had been nearly a year at the Wartburg. The country rang with the delirious welcome of joy, when it was noised abroad that the bold man would again lift up his voice. Doctors and peasants alike hailed him as brought back by mourning and entreaties from the grave. "Luther is to preach to-day," was the exciting cry which ushered in Sunday at Wittenberg. He faced the storm at first with gentle words in a mild tone, but warmed rather by inward fire, than by fear or rage at the pretensions of the fanatics, his words soon came forth as a scorching blaze. "Know you what the Devil thinks when he sees men resort to violence to speed the Gospel through the world? Seated behind the fire of hell, and folding his arms with malignant glance and horrid leer, Satan says — 'How good it is in yonder madmen to play into my hands.' But only let him see the Word of the Lord circulating, and working its way unaided on the field of the world, and at once he is disturbed at his work, his knees smite each other, he trembles, and is ready to die with fear." With a moderate but a courageous spirit Luther preached daily. He met the prophets, and by demanding their commission in the name of God, he enraged them first, and then turned back in discomfiture the ruinous tide, of their harangues.

Luther and Melancthon together spent long hours of many days in that to them most charmed and solemn task, the final revision of the translation of the New Testament. Ten thousand sheets were struck off daily from three presses. The first edition, of three thousand copies in two volumes, appeared Sept. 21, 1522, bearing the title "The New Testament in German;—at Wittenberg." In less than three months a second edition was issued, and in ten or eleven years, fifty editions had been printed, chiefly at Wittenberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, and Bale. How it was welcomed, cherished, wept over, and adored, only the imagination can conceive. The Romish divines, to stop its circulation, altered its readings here and there, and then sent forth an edition of it as a translation of their own. The most ignorant of the monks, who had caught the spirit of the Reformer, travelled about to sell the precious legacy which they could neither read nor expound;

portions of it were read to groups at the market-cross and the fireside; there was no other theme upon the tongue of noble or peasant. The New Testament was followed, as by a living exposition, in the Theological Common-Places of Melancthon, which passed through sixty-seven editions in about as many years.

As if to magnify the renown of Luther in confronting him with every dignity and throne of the civilized world, a royal champion now stood forth to meet him in the person of Henry VIII. An unchaste love had not as yet led that monarch to become his own Pope, but envying the titles of Most Christian and Catholic set to the names of the kings of France and Spain, he too longed to perform some signal service for his Holiness to win for himself an honorable epithet. His "Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther by the Most Invincible King, &c.," is little more than a mere tissue of contemptuous epithets. His ambassador presented the book to the Pontiff, promising that his master would follow up with his sword what he had begun with his pen. The Pope repaid the service by conferring on Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith," still borne by the sovereigns of England. The book was received with the grossest adulation — "the most learned work that ever the sun saw" — "it can only be compared with the works of St. Augustine" — "He is a Constantine, a Charlemagne, nay more, he is a second Solomon." Luther smiled over its perusal; but what sort of smiles kindled his features we may learn from the language in which he expressed his determination to reply to the book, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his friends. "I won't be gentle toward the King of England. I know it is useless to humble myself, to compromise, entreat, and try peaceful methods. I will show these wild beasts, who are every day running at me with their horns, how terrible I can be; I will turn upon my pursuers, I will provoke and exasperate my adversary, until exhausting all his strength he falls and is forever annihilated. 'If this heretic does not retract,' says the new Thomas, Henry VIII., 'he must be burnt!' Such are the weapons which are now employed against me; the fury and the faggots of stupid asses, and hogs of the Thomas Aquinas brood. Well, then, be it so! Let these swine come on, if they dare; aye, let them even burn me — here I am awaiting them. My ashes, after death, though cast into a thousand seas, shall rise

up in arms, and pursue, and swallow up their abominable troop. Living, I will be the enemy of the Papacy — and burnt, I will be its ruin! Go then, swine of St. Thomas, do what you will. Ever will you find Luther, like a bear upon your road, and like a lion upon your path. He will fall upon you from all sides, and give you no rest until he shall have ground your iron brains, and pulverized your brazen foreheads."

Language cannot paint the indignation of the monarch on reading Luther's reply written in this strain, though abounding in arguments without anger. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the former guardian of the prince, uttered some significant advice to the monarch as follows. "Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines, says Christ in Solomon's song; from this we learn that we ought to lay hands upon heretics, *before they grow big*. Luther is become a large fox, so old, so cunning, so mischievous, that it is very difficult to catch him. What do I say? A fox? He is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel she-bear; or rather all these put together, for the monster includes many beasts within him." If Luther's language disgust us by its coarseness, let us remember that the noble-minded and courteous Thomas More, who descended into the arena in behalf of his monarch, used language so far beneath that of Luther, that the perusal of it well nigh nauseates a reader. Henry in his rage left the pen to resort to diplomacy. He sent a special ambassador to the Elector to demand his intervention against Luther. The Elector referred him to the Council.

Large numbers of Augustines and Franciscans deserted their convents and preached in every city, town, and hamlet of the Electorate the doctrines of Luther. The press was busy with its new task. In 1522, Luther published one hundred and thirty tracts; in the next year, when all the Catholic publications amounted but to twenty, he was the author of one hundred and eighty three. The general ferment seemed to have reached its utmost excitement. Luther preached from the balcony of the town Hall at Zwickau to twenty-five thousand persons. Duke Henry of Freyberg, following the example of his Duchess, the princess of Mecklenberg, espoused the new doctrines, and their son Maurice, afterwards so distinguished, was educated in Protestantism. The common people, who heard with gladness any earnest preacher of the truth, resisted all the efforts of nobles and town councils to obstruct the fulfilment of

their wishes. They constructed movable pulpits, which were set up in the streets as occasion called for them, and were borne off in triumph by the multitude, if the magistrates interfered. Francfort on the Maine, after an ineffectual resistance on the part of the public authorities, gave free circulation to the new opinions. The heaven was working all through the empire. Luther surveyed the prospect with a calm joy, regarding himself as but a feeble instrument, and recognising the hand of God, and the power of Christ.

The reformation working from within, *outward*, now appeared in the public worship, and in the private life of the Church; it began even to affect the political relations of the several states to the Empire. The Emperor and the Pope, though leaguings both their interest and their force against an earnest devotion to a sacred cause, had no equal devotedness to oppose to it. The author here gives us a most graphic portraiture, fully equal to that of Ranke, of the Spanish Knight and Catholic Saint, Ignatius Loyola. Born eight years after Luther, and destined to infuse into the Papacy that new energy of zeal or devotion which alone saved it from utter ruin, Ignatius passed through a discipline of mind, very like that which had prepared Luther for his work. But while Luther swore allegiance to the holy Scriptures, the Jesuit gave himself to dreams and rhapsodies and to a chivalrous devotion to our Blessed Lady. Here is the key to the strange contrariety in the history and labors of these two most remarkable men of the sixteenth century. Meanwhile, Leo X., who had excommunicated the Reformation, died and was succeeded by a grave and pious monk, Adrian VI. Distressed, as the new Pontiff was by the danger which hung over the Church from the Reformation, he began to act upon his honest conviction, that the most effectual resistance he could oppose would be in applying the most rigid discipline to a voluntary correction of abuses existing in the Church. He began faithfully; but the worse than Herculean task of purification soon discouraged him. In March and December, 1522, the Diet assembled at Nuremberg, most of the Princes and Prelates demanding loudly that the Edict of Worms against Luther should be enforced by his death. But the assembly was divided; and by a most strange contrast, while imprecations upon the Reformer were heard in the Senate House, the pulpits of the city were occupied by preachers, who were earnestly enforcing the doctrines of the

outlawed Luther, and monks who had put off their vows were working at useful trades. Yet so powerful was truth, that the Diet, after all its deliberations, availed itself of some fortuitous circumstances to make its decision against Rome, instead of against the Reformer. A list of eighty grievances, aiming at ecclesiastical abuses, was drawn up, and a free council was demanded as the single condition of peace. The indignation of the partisans of Rome at this result was extreme. But the power was still on the side of the Church. The fiery trial was instituted, the arm of savage fury was raised against unresisting truth, and in Austria, Wurtemberg, Brunswick, but especially in the Low Countries, under the immediate rule of Charles V., the persecution of the Reformers began. Esch and Voes, the first martyrs, died in the flames at Brussels, July 1, 1523. Some of the weak fell away in the bitter trial. The death of Adrian suspended for a season the fury of the strife. The next Diet insisted that the will of the Church could not be enforced without the shedding of oceans of blood; the people would have the Gospel; and nothing but the assembling of a council at Spire, to which all the princes and prelates and doctors might freely offer their opinions and questions, could ensure peace. Such a measure Pope Clement VII. thought would be the ruin of Rome. The Romanist party in a conference at Ratisbon formed a league against the Reformation, enforcing a removal of all novelties, and uttering a feeble protest against undeniable corruptions. Thus a Romanist faction, opposing a general assembly, first dismembered the unity of the Empire, and political interests, especially the rivalry and war between France and Spain, made the Reformation no longer a purely religious question. In the regions embraced by this Catholic League the bloody work of slaughter for opinion's sake was renewed. The details given by D'Aubigné are mournfully interesting, but we have not space to repeat them.

Now a new development of the religious sentiment, as causing even friends and children rocked in the same cradle to differ, appeared in that first element of strife between the Reformers—the significance of the Lord's Supper. Luther and Carlstadt, heretofore linked in the warmest love, were found as leaders of hostile phalanxes. Carlstadt, considering that the error of the Romanists was a materializing religion, was unwilling to attribute any efficacy to an outward observance. He denied all presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament, and

regarded a participation in it by faith, as assuring a pledge of redemption. This is the doctrine of Calvin and of the "Reformed Church." Luther in the opening of his career seems to have leaned to the same opinion; but his dread of the Anabaptists, his conviction of the necessity of the *outward*, and of the danger of relying upon the *inward*, led him to insist upon the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. The alienation between the friends was lamentable. Carlstadt left Wittenberg and went to Orlamund, where he hoped to disseminate his views upon this doctrine, and to encourage the people to image breaking. Luther followed him to neutralize his efforts. The aged Elector, approaching his end, was tormented by the fear that the Reformation might go too far, interposed, and banished Carlstadt, though without being encouraged to this severity by Luther. But while this discord divided, there was enough still to bind all the opponents of Rome in one array, which was continually receiving accessions in princes, scholars, and multitudes of an aroused and interested populace. Luther now faithfully carried his principles into the externals of worship, abolishing from the Supper everything which gave to it the character of a sacrifice, requiring communion under both kinds, and enforcing the reading of the Scriptures, and the preaching of the Gospel in every daily or weekly assemblage of Christians. Writing of the Church of All Saints at Wittenberg, with which Luther was especially indignant, as in it 9,901 masses were annually celebrated, and 35,570 lbs. of wax annually burnt, he says, "There are only three or four lazy monks who still worship this shameful Mammon; and if I had not restrained the people, this abode of all Saints, or rather of all Devils, would have been brought down with a crash, such as the world has never yet heard."

Again Luther early saw that the root and the growth of the Reformation depended upon the wide diffusion of the elements of education. He accordingly spent much effort in urging upon universities and town councils the patronage of learning, proving to ecclesiastics, that a thorough knowledge of the languages was necessary to them, and to magistrates, that there was no better use for money than applying it to the instruction of the children of the poor. "The prosperity of a town does not consist in amassing wealth, erecting walls, building mansions, and the possession of arms. If attacked by a party of madmen its ruin and devastation would only be the more sensible. The true

well-being of a town, its security, its strength, is to number within it many learned, serious, kind, and well educated citizens." He recommended the establishment of libraries containing books in every department of useful learning, even heathen orators and poets. He introduced congregational singing into public worship, and adapted the Psalms, and composed hymns for that service, instead of the Priests' chanting.

And now, unhappily, that measure of peace, which for a season was promised to allow the natural working of truth and sifting of error, was disturbed by an intense political excitement. The Reformation had not excited, it had even for a brief time repressed those elements of sedition and strife, which had long been fermenting among an oppressed and abused populace. The insurrections of the peasantry, which attended this stage of the Reform, of course received new impulse from the excitement which religious agitation had created. "Why is it," said they, "when the Church invites all men to a glorious liberty, that servitude is perpetuated in the State?" Yet as the true Christian spirit had but slightly affected the minds of the mass, the impetuous torrent of opposition to force overpassed all bounds of moderation. The pretensions of a handful of fanatics to divine inspiration added to the danger. Fearful atrocities were perpetrated by the peasantry; Luther lifted up his voice and wielded his pen almost in vain. Thomas Munzer, the leader of the fanatics, pretending to direct inspiration, became too formidable an opponent even for the successful foe of Pope and Emperor. In Southern Germany the excesses of the infuriated populace partook of demoniac rage. They leagued in undisciplined bands, binding themselves to twelve articles of reform, which demanded that nobles should be brought to an equality with citizens, and that taxes and exclusive privileges should be abolished. They pillaged and demolished on their mad progress, and revolt was carried by them to the verge of absolute ruin. The nobles had taken refuge in the strong citadel of Wurtzburg; the peasants furiously besieged it; but Truchsess, the commander of the Imperial forces, advancing in the direction of the Lake of Constance, hemmed them in, repulsed and scattered them, and by the slaughter of fifty thousand of the frantic multitudes, the stalking progress of anarchy was staid. The princes, nobles, and bishops abused their victory, not only restoring with tenfold rigor the ancient forms, but giving loose to unheard-of cruelties.

Munzer, who had prepared this direful desolation with its more fearful revenge for the South and West of Germany, then traversed the northern parts of the empire, and there kindled the same furious blaze. Similar scenes were presented of confusion, fanaticism, pillage, destruction, and rebellion. Philip of Hesse first rose to resist, other nobles and princes joined their forces. Five thousand of the peasantry were slain, and the master spirit, Munzer, was beheaded. The leaders of the Reformation had been true to their Christian purpose in resisting the unhallowed rage of mere political rebellion. They were overwhelmed with grief, when friends and enemies alike traced these fierce disorders to the light, which Luther had kindled from the pure Gospel. Luther earnestly repelled the charge, and hot was his defence, but it came from a heart saddened as well as indignant. To fill up the measure of his grief at this period, the aged Elector died. Luther had never seen him, except at a distance, at the Diet at Worms; but that pure and noble-minded Prince, by force of his own sincerity of heart, had been the sheltering oak which had protected the tender plant of expanding truth.

While many dark clouds were gathering over the prospect of the regenerated Gospel, and eight years after Luther had first preached against indulgences, he married the nun, Catherine Bora. The strong sense of his duty as a Reformer "to rid himself of everything Papistic," seemed to have had more to do in urging him to this step, than inclination, or desire for the pleasures of domestic life. The report of his marriage, as he foresaw, roused against him the spirit of ridicule and calumny. His father advised the measure, and Melancthon soon justified it. Luther thought he could discern in men's opposition one mark of God's approval. He had then entered upon the forty-third year of his age.

An Evangelic union of princes friendly to the Reformation was found at Magdeburg. The Emperor, having just then concluded a peace after a victory obtained over Francis of France, listened to the demand from the Catholic princes of Germany, that he should put forth his might to serve the Church in the hour of her utmost peril. He listened to the call, and realized its full importance. Catholic League and Protestant Union marshalled their opposing forces. Luther again and again advised his followers that weapons from the arsenal of God might be obtained by prayer.

While these events transpired in Germany, Switzerland under the zealous guidance of Zwingle was raising up another host with its martyrs and confessors to bear witness to the return of Gospel light. The great object of Luther's labors may be stated to have been the restoring to the people the free use of the Bible, while Zwingle considering their rights in this respect as thoroughly vindicated, sought to restore to the people thus enlightened their rights as members of the universal Church, to a voice in its counsels and to a full share of its privilege. The Church at Zurich was gradually and without much tumult led to make an open recognition of the new doctrines. Zwingle and his first Swiss followers may be regarded as the foremost to display that characteristic feature of the Reformation in Switzerland, viz. the entrusting the maintenance of sound doctrine, under God, to the people. Experience has proved thus much at least, that the trust is as safe in their hands as in those of pontiffs, priests, and princes. Next to Zurich, the Canton of Berne slowly admitted the new opinions. Their entrance here is to be regarded as rather fortuitous, as the influence of a few families high in station was exerted in their favor. The conduct of this canton, however, was vacillating and undecided. It was hard at any moment to say whether the new or the old party would triumph. The Swiss Diet, which exercised a controlling power over the affairs of the several Cantons, was composed of delegates, the large majority of whom were earnest and furious in their hate of innovations. Zwingle was for a long time the guiding spirit of the reform in Switzerland, and Zurich yielded to his influence. As torture and martyrdom were successively inflicted by the partisans of Rome upon the resolute opponents of the ancient superstition, Zwingle encouraged more and more the abolition of all those idolatrous and symbolical inventions of the Papacy, which otherwise he would have sought to undermine rather than attack. He began with encouraging the destruction of images, and his next step was the entire abolition of the mass, and the restoration of the Lord's Supper. There was a very marked distinction between the means used for the attainment of the same ends, by the German and by the Swiss Reformer. Zwingle attacked the Roman, that is, the pagan corruptions of Christianity, its symbols, images, and ceremonies, and its demigods, or saints. Luther was troubled more by the Jewish element, which had been incorporated with true Christianity, such as

the Pharisaic notions of inherent righteousness, and salvation obtainable by human works. Afterwards there arose in Calvin one who combined the two elements of corruption as the grounds of his stern opposition to the Papacy. There is a difference likewise in the characters of the Swiss and German peasantry, which, as well as different political institutions and influences, should be taken into the account in estimating the power and progress of Reform in the two countries.

Basle was the seat of learning and the residence of the elegant and fastidious Erasmus. No writer seems ever to affix to him the epithet of a temporizer, which so many writers do, and which he so justly deserves, without an expression of sorrow that truth compels them thus to name him. The highest hopes were entertained in Germany by the Reformers, that he would finally throw his whole influence into the scale with Luther. He freely vented his ridicule, and turned his wit, and opposed his scholarship against the corruptions of Rome. Expressions of his, which he had dropt in his caustic humor, were freely circulated. They showed the philosopher and the satirist, the dissenter, the bold thinker, and the free speaker, and thus they fully justified the hope, that, as a sincere man, he would after denounce what he so heartily spurned and ridiculed. On his visit to England, in conversation with Thomas More, he seems even to have expressed some doubts concerning transubstantiation; for his friend said to him, as if to confirm his faith, "Only believe that you receive the body of Christ, and you really have it." On his departure for the continent, More loaned Erasmus a horse to convey him to the sea-shore; but Erasmus, instead of sending the animal back, took it abroad with him. More wrote to him, warmly reproaching him; but Erasmus, with profane levity, if not with unbelieving rebellion against the Church, returned an answer to his friend, that if he could only believe his horse was in the stable, he would find him there.

But Erasmus looked no further than to a partial reform; he took a most difficult position. He wrote to Zwingli, "I will not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ, at least, *so far as the times will allow.*" As Rome rose against the Reformation, he drew back from it. Pope, emperor, kings, nobles, and men of learning alike pointed him to the high fame he might acquire, and the dignified service he might perform by writing against Luther. His vacillation drew upon him the

reproaches of both parties. Luther wrote to him, excusing his time-serving, as if it were only a want of courage to raise a storm ; but at the same time earnestly entreating Erasmus to utter no more of his sarcastic rhetoric against the Reformation. This letter, which the scholar received as the keenest of insults, with other motives of pride, love of ease, and deference to the wishes of the powerful, induced him to give the whole weight of his influence to the established Christianity of his age ; he became the enemy of the new teachers and of their doctrines. Erasmus wrote a Treatise intended to vindicate the doctrine of Man's Free Will. D'Aubigné goes all lengths with Luther in maintaining the doctrines of Election, and of man's utter inability and indisposition for anything good. We will not stop to criticise the views of the Reformer and the historian on these points. Erasmus's treatise was feeble ; but as Luther delayed to answer it, the partisans of Rome applauded and triumphed. The German monk felt called upon to reply, which he did with energy, irony, and a practised pen. Erasmus was irritated at the reply ; he even wrote to ask the interference of the Elector of Saxony, and as one of his most zealous apologists says, he "poured forth invectives in a feeble voice and with hoary hairs."

The same fanaticism which had tracked the steps of reform in Germany now appeared in Switzerland ; Munzer had sown its seeds when he had first been driven from Saxony. Anabaptism gave it its life, and for a short season hot enthusiasts perpetrated many shameful iniquities under the pretence of direct inspiration. Zwingle was faithful and earnest in using the influence, first of moderation and entreaty, and then of calm argument against the fanatics. The bloody violence of their outrages soon made even the disciples whom they had duped to spurn them.

Meanwhile Luther and Zwingle were brought into contention about the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Luther revered antiquity ; he clung to the traditions of the Church ; he would retain every existing institution which was not expressly impugned or opposed by the Scriptures. But Zwingle sought a radical and sweeping reform. The air of his native mountains, fresh and clear, did not incline his spirit to reverence the forms and usages of the past. Yet in the contentions which ensued between these two champions, there was much to impress their common enemies with a conviction of their sincerity and love

of truth. At a conference held at Baden under the interest of the Papacy, Dr. Eck presented himself as the champion of the Church. The threats and curses which were uttered against Zwingle induced the town council at Zurich to forbid his risking his life by going to the conference. Œcolampadius, with characteristic mildness, maintained the reformed doctrine against Eck. Though the decision, as might be expected, was made in favor of Rome, yet the effect upon the minds of the assembled multitude was of an opposite tendency. The Reformation was rapidly extending itself in the more level and cultivated regions of Switzerland, but the Forest Cantons, the more ancient members of the confederacy, the first and foremost in the struggle for political liberty, dwelling in their retired mountain enclosures, adhered, as they to this day adhere, to the faith of their fathers. These Forest Cantons invoked the aid of Austria against their brethren, but the balance was already inclining in favor of Reform.

D'Aubigné devotes the latter part, nearly a third of his volume, to the history of the Reformation in France. He is the first historian who has distinctly claimed and proved for France the honor of having the priority in point of time over all other nations, in advancing doctrines at war with the Papal system. In France, religion had to contend with superstition, incredulity, and gross immorality. There was profligacy in the Church, and debauchery upon the throne. In the lofty Piedmontese valleys Christian truth had always been sheltered from the corruptions of Rome. Innocent VIII. had issued a Bull and commissioned an army to hunt out from rocks and caverns the poor heretics. Its task, though pursued with the fury and the scent of bloodhounds, was not thoroughly completed; the heretics took refuge in retreats inaccessible save to themselves, and there the seed of truth was protected for a more propitious season. In one of these Alpine solitudes in Dauphiny, and at a hamlet bearing his name, William Farel was born in the year 1489, of one of the noble families of the region. His parents were strict Catholics, and he was heartily devoted to their faith, till the dawning of truth on his mind prepared him for his great work as a herald of the Reformation. Choosing to devote himself to learning, he proceeded to the University of Paris. Dr. Lefevre of Etaples in Picardy, one of the most eminent men who then adorned the French metropolis, thoroughly dissatisfied with the existing faith, was fearlessly

pursuing his study of the Scriptures. Under his guidance, and after severe mental struggles, Farel wrought out his spiritual deliverance. Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis, leaned toward the new opinions. They found converts notwithstanding the opposition and the maledictions of the Sorbonne. Persecution soon marked the Reformers as obnoxious, and drove them from the capital; but new allies were rising up to them in the provinces. A comb-weaver, named Le Clerc, the first Protestant martyr in France, was burnt at Metz, with most horrible tortures. Farel returned to his native village and preached to his countrymen; driven thence, he took refuge in Switzerland, and boldly declared his testimony. He found a temporary home at Basle, and a devoted friend in *Æcolampadius*. Both of them united their energies in their work. But Farel kept aloof from the great Erasmus, not caring for the friendship of so lukewarm an opponent of corruption. The proud scholar took offence at the boldness of the refugee Frenchman, and while he was absent on a visit to Zurich, procured his exclusion from Basle on his return. Farel was still a layman; but moved by the urgent solicitations of the people of Montbeliard, in France, to become their pastor, he returned covertly to Basle, and was here ordained by *Æcolampadius*, in whose house he found concealment.

The entire New Testament, in a French translation, was published in 1524. The French Parliament, with the countenance rather than the advice of the Pope, established the Inquisition in that country. Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who had twice filled the post of ambassador at Rome, a noble, the intimate friend of Louis XII. and Francis I., had engaged in the Reformation with a kind of half-hearted zeal, prophesying glory to the cause. The death of some of the most courageous innovators and some political reverses brought discouragement on the cause of reform, and gave new hope to its enemies, that with resolute resistance they might quench the flame forever. Briçonnet was made the first victim of inquisitorial severity, or rather intrigue; for the shameful recantation, which he was induced to offer, was wrung from him by specious pretences and artful appeals. The Inquisitors thought to strike a bold blow by impugning next the great Erasmus; but he found means to elude them. John Calvin is first brought to our notice as a student sixteen years of age, in Paris. He was a native of Noyon in Picardy. When a mere child he

had been solemnly dedicated to the Church, and he was reared under all the influences which its piety or its superstition could bind around a youthful heart. It was at the darkest hour of the Reformation in France, that this stripling, already marked by that severe and austere character which characterized his life and his theology, occupied the form of a scholar. His career will fill a large part of the volume that is to complete the history before us.

G. E. E.

ART. III.—THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS.

No theory concerning the temptation of our Saviour has been found so satisfactory by students of the Christian Scriptures, as to prevent the wish for a more probable solution of the difficulties it presents. There are those, doubtless, at the present day, who maintain still a literal interpretation of the language in which it is written. Satan, a sort of second God, the rival of the Supreme, whose opposition God cannot destroy, or whose wicked designs God for some wise purpose of his own permits, fears on the coming of Jesus into the world that the empire of evil, and he, its sovereign, with it, is to be overthrown. To avert an end so dreadful to himself, he conceives the design of tempting Jesus away from his allegiance to God, and inducing him or compelling him to become a supporter of the great enemy of God. He therefore comes on earth. Jesus is driven into the wilderness, where, in order to render the importance of Satan more conspicuous, every circumstance is made more favorable for the purposes of the tempter; but the tempter is known through every disguise, if he assumed any; Jesus shows no fear of him, but an unchangeable purpose still to overcome him and his works. Satan, disappointed, departs in order to circumvent the plans of God and his Son, by some other means, or to tremble and fall before their power.

Some, at the present day, have thought that they had reason to deny altogether the existence of such a being, as the one called Satan is supposed to be. God, they maintain, rules sovereign and unrivalled over the world. He fears no opposition; he finds no difficulty in putting an end to any opposi-

tion with which his designs may meet. The common idea of Satan, they maintain, impugns too seriously the power and the goodness of the Divine Being. It represents Satan as possessing unbounded power, as omnipresent, or present at all places on the earth at the same time, as able to know the thoughts of men, and to suggest thoughts and inspire feelings. It represents him as having power to subdue the minds of men to his purposes, to triumph over those whom Christ died to save, and to plunge in the unutterable torments of unending Hell persons, towards whom the single will of God was, that they should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved.

A theory so vast, which yet we have not sketched in those terrors, in which it is sometimes presented to the imaginations of men, is built upon a small foundation. That there are evil spirits we do not undertake to deny; for we see no reason why the same evil passions may not govern men's minds after passing through death, as before. But to say that any spirits, which were created by the goodness of God, will ever be given into the power of a malignant being, to be tormented at *his* will, without the hope, without the possibility of redemption, is what we do not believe. God's love pervades all worlds; he never can view with indifference the wants, the trials, the sufferings of any soul. Even when the sufferings, which any endure, are such as spring from passions never controlled, from a heart empty of goodness, and from the visitations of remorse, God, we believe, will view them with compassion, and will afford every possible means for the redemption of the spirit which endures them. Whether it is within the means of the Divine Being to redeem all, or any, who in another world, as in this, choose evil for their good, whether it is consistent with the existence of the soul, as a moral, free agent, that it should be redeemed, except through its own consent, and its own choice, are questions which cannot now be discussed.

But it is not necessary to suppose that Satan exists, a divinity, a rival to God, in order to account for the retributions which the soul endures. It certainly is not necessary to suppose that any part of creation is made over to him as his empire. Nay, if a soul be wholly given up to evil, if any soul be given up to the Devil to worship him, to be ruled by him, to be utterly subject to his will, it would not, unless we mistake, endure the unhappiness, which

arises from a conflict of good and evil in the mind. It is only while conscience lives, while the spirit of God suggests truth, and prompts to good, that the soul can suffer. If it is possible for the spirit of God to be withdrawn entirely from the soul, the soul would descend in the scale of being; but, its capacities being full, it would enjoy all the good; which it could know to be good. The soul suffers, while it subjects itself to a divided empire. It must see the good, it must approve the good, it must feel that it does not wish to attain it, and must determine not to attain it, before the sufferings of the soul in their fulness can commence. Whether the sufferings of the soul in another world arise only from the conflict between the knowledge of good and the preference of evil, is more than we know. But we can conceive of the sufferings of "Hell," we can conceive that "these shall go away into everlasting punishment," without supposing them beyond the love of the Almighty, and given over to a rival Divinity.

Like many others, then, we do not agree with those views, which we suppose to be the common views concerning the Devil; we do not suppose that any such personage came to our Saviour, in the wilderness, and endeavored to seduce him away from his devotion to God. Such, indeed, would be the most natural interpretation of the words of the Evangelists; at least, it would be a natural interpretation to those, who hold the common views concerning the existence and attributes of Satan.

It is possible, that the Evangelists themselves may have entertained a belief in such a being as Satan is supposed to be. Such a belief would not have impaired, in the least degree, their ability to remain faithful witnesses "of all that Jesus began both to do and to teach." They misunderstood, until the day of the ascension, the nature of the kingdom which he was about to restore to Israel; they had been preachers of the Gospel before they arrived at the discovery, that Christ had sheep which were not of their fold. Yet as they might have faithfully narrated to their several families and friends, before they learned what the kingdom was which Jesus came to bring, all those things which they heard Jesus teach and saw him do, so they might transmit to coming generations their testimonies concerning Jesus, even if they had not understood the full purport of his words, or known all that God might impart to men at a later day concerning the present or a future world.

Whatever were the circumstances of the Temptation, we suppose with many others, that the disciples obtained their knowledge of them from the personal narrative of Jesus to them; for he was apparently removed, in the wilderness, from human observation. We suppose with others, also, that the individuals to whom Jesus communicated what passed in the wilderness, put upon it their own construction. There have been individuals in this country, men of learning and distinction, within a hundred years, who, without any idea that they were interpreting theoretically, would have said concerning any temptation, that Satan suggested it. In all honesty, they believed the Devil the tempter of man; and had they been informed of the temptations through which an acquaintance of their own had passed, they would have written it down, that the Devil tempted him. In a country where a more simple style of narrative prevails than that abstract and unpoetical style, which the cultivated writer adopts, the narrator would represent the tempter as suggesting in words, what was suggested only in the thoughts. Thus the circumstances of the temptation, whatever they were, assumed the form in which we now read of them, and the silent reflections of our Saviour, in reply, became embodied in the words, in which we read that his replies were made.

Departing thus from a literal interpretation of the scene of the temptation, and making allowances, as we believe we are called upon in truth to do, for the peculiar views of temptation and trial, which we suppose the apostles to have held, we come next to say, that we differ also from those, who suppose that our Saviour underwent a temptation in his thoughts, or in his feelings. In a word, it is our object to present a different view of the meaning of the word "temptation," and to offer a few suggestions, which may not prove, but lead to the presumption, that our Saviour was *tried* in the wilderness, tried by apprehension, tried by a consciousness of responsibility, not *tempted* by evil, or by the shadow or show of it.

There are two meanings commonly attached to the word temptation. Our circumstances may be such, as naturally to lead us to evil, and then they are denominated temptations; we may ourselves feel an evil inclination, and an evil inclination has received the name of a temptation. A good man, who arrives at the sudden and unexpected possession of im-

mense wealth is placed in circumstances of temptation. His humility will be tested; his faith, his love of man, his ability to deny himself. Many, who have filled well a lower station, living in modesty and purity, have failed when suddenly advanced in the world. The circumstances, to which they were introduced, were too full with temptation. Every circumstance in life, also, is more or less replete with temptation. "Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain." Our native dispositions, also, are temptations; for each one requires to be watched in certain circumstances, lest it become too fully developed and lead us into evil. So, too, men sometimes designedly place temptations in the way of others. The young man is hurried away to scenes of dissipation, to the gaming table and to wine, by men who live by the vices of the young, and prosper on the spoils of those whom they lead to destruction. Thus every inducement, by which man is ever led into evil, is called a temptation. But if our hearts are firmly determined to preserve their integrity, and to withstand the first approach of sin, no circumstance proves a real temptation to us. The inducements, which the profligate offer to us, are then only scenes enacted before our eyes. The inducements, which our native dispositions and the circumstances of our lot present, are only shadows, which dance before us for a moment, and then vanish into air. They are nothing to us, if they awaken no *desire* in our hearts. The man, whose heart is set on heavenly things, sees temptation pass in its gaudy show before him; but he lives secure from its power, while he lives by faith, and protects himself by prayer; and though his outward circumstances may be as tempting as those which lead others into evil, he cannot truly be said to be "tempted," until he feels a struggle in his mind, and hesitates between his consciousness of what is right and his desire to do what he knows is wrong.

The word "temptation," then, while it is used to denote the inducements which are presented to us to tempt our hearts, is used also to denote the inclination to evil, — whether momentary or continued, faint or strong, — which pride, or passion, or the endeavor of others to corrupt us, may awaken in our hearts. In the first sense, temptation is some external circumstance, some

constitutional disposition, some human weakness, for the existence of which we are not answerable, and in regard to which all our interest is to prevent its exciting an evil desire within the heart. But in the second sense of the word, we are tempted, only when the evil desire already exists. Thus, when the ambitious man looks with a longing eye to the height which he finds it difficult to gain, and begins to incline to the use of unjust means to attain it, he *feels* temptation. He has already an evil inclination in his heart. He may, upon further reflection, decide to resist it; he may at last succeed in overcoming it. But the important point to be considered is, that he *indulged* the temptation. In this sense, to feel temptation is criminal. The heart degrades itself, while it yields to it, though but for a moment. The man, whom ambition tempts even for a moment to meditate unjust means of attaining his ends, is to be charged in a degree with worldly ambition. When love of gain tempts us to inquire if we may not grow rich by means which the upright mind, we know, would be ashamed to use, we are for the moment, at least, unjust and fraudulent. Though we resist the sinful emotion of the mind, yet while it moves us we sin; nor can it be truly said, that he has been without sin, who has at any time felt a sinful emotion, even though through force of reflection he has extinguished it.

We have been more particular in analyzing the meanings, which are commonly attached to the word "temptation," because the common explanations, which are given to "the temptation of our Saviour," rest upon them. The literal explanation, which prevailed for so many years throughout the Christian world, rested upon the first meaning, which we have mentioned; the Prince of Evil placed tempting circumstances in the way of God's appointed messenger. They were nothing, however, to him, for they awakened no desire in his heart, and the proffered treasures of the world were rejected without a sigh. An explanation, more commonly prevalent now, rests upon the second meaning, which has been referred to; and represents our Saviour in the desert as inquiring, whether he shall desert his ministry of salvation, for the treasures of the world; whether he shall abuse his miraculous powers to answer the purposes of every-day existence; and whether he shall seek to attract the attention of the people of Jerusalem by a miraculous descent into the midst of them from the pinnacle of the temple.

Now it seems true, that

Evil into the mind of God or man
May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
No spot or stain behind.

Our thoughts are no more than visions, which pass over the surface of the mind; and if they are thoughts of evil, still their coming cannot always be avoided; and, if they depart not entertained and unapproved, they are no more to us than, as it has been expressed, the cloud which casts its shadow on the field, or flits over the bosom of the lake. But, it is to be remarked, that if the circumstances of the Temptation were but thoughts which caused no pain to our Saviour, if they entered his mind only to be dismissed, they were of consequence too slight to have been mentioned by him, too slight, perhaps, to admit of their being ever recalled. It must have been a misunderstanding, wide indeed from the truth, which, in hearing that visions of evil crossed the mind of Jesus in the desert, could have created from them forty days of seclusion, for no other purpose than that he should be tempted. And if, on the other hand, the Temptation in the desert was a matter of consequence to the one who endured it, and still the Tempter was in his own bosom, we fall upon the supposition, that he was moved for a time by ambition and by ostentation there, and that he found in his feelings a Satan, who occupied his mind with unworthy propositions; and that, indeed, he felt so strong a temptation, that he thought it worth while to communicate to others the story of his struggles. We are led, therefore, to reject the supposition, that the Temptation was afforded by the thoughts or in the feelings of Jesus. A temptation in the one would have been of too little consequence to be noticed; a temptation in the other seems to imply that he entertained, for a longer or shorter period, feelings inconsistent with a firm and upright mind. We do not feel inclined to entertain the supposition, that Jesus, upon receiving power from heaven, and being received into the bosom of the Father, and being commissioned to live and to die for the redemption of mankind, felt even a momentary inclination to compare his mission with the honors of the world, or to leave it to enjoy them. The serene light of a higher world was apparently vouchsafed to him without measure, and the hearts of men, with the pains they suffered, were opened to his view. High and pure as his character was, and peculiar as was the inspiration which was

imparted to him, we can rest in no other supposition, than that he entered with a full and willing heart upon the ministry which was set before him.

We do not adopt, then, that view of the Temptation, which represents some being as having endeavored to throw temptations in the way of the Messiah, in the hope of preventing the work upon which the Messiah was sent; nor that view, which supposes that Jesus, having accepted the office of God's commissioned messenger, felt within himself, at some time, a greater love for the world than for the work to which he was called. The word "temptation," in its Scripture use, bears still a different sense from the two which are commonly attached to it in English. "Ye are they," said Jesus, as related by Luke, xxii. 28, "which have continued with me in my *temptations*;" by which he appears to mean, you have witnessed my trials, you have shared my afflictions. "Serving the Lord," says Paul at Miletus, Acts xx. 19, "with all humility of mind, and with many tears and *temptations*, which befel me by the laying in wait of the Jews."* In this language, the apostle seems to refer to the pains and difficulties, which he felt in avoiding the plans by which the Jews endeavored to secure his person, or to prevent his preaching. The English word "trial" seems to be synonymous with this sense of the word temptation. The word "trial" is used to express any trial of the mind or heart, whether by afflictive dispensations, or by inducements to do wrong. And it is possible, that if the scene in the desert had been named "the Trials of Jesus," it would have borne a name more consonant with the truth, than that is which it now bears.

We suppose then that Jesus suffered, not temptation, but trials, in the wilderness. The "forty days" were not a season of temptation, but of suffering. This is a supposition, which we offer, not to maintain its truth, but to show that as one among the suppositions offered to explain a difficult narration in the Scriptures, it is not altogether destitute of foundation.

That Jesus may have endured a period of mental trial, after he had been first commissioned as the Saviour of mankind, it is by no means unnatural to suppose. He had been pronounced at his baptism by a voice from Heaven to be the beloved Son of God. Authority and power had been bestowed upon him

* See also Hebrews xi. 37.

such as none other ever bore. He had come to the world, not like the prophets of old, sent to convey a single message, or sent to a single nation, or a few nations; he was to be a prophet to all nations, to all mankind. Power over the dead to recall their spirits to this world, power to restore to the blind their sight, and to the sick their strength, was given him. His life, from the time of his baptism, was to be spent in a communion with the Father, not vouchsafed to others; and while on earth he was to be in the bosom of the Father. He was to be invested with these powers, for the highest purpose, in which benevolence and power could be exerted,—that he might redeem men from sin, the great disease and destroyer of the human soul.

And we appear to have no reason for supposing, that he had not come to the possession of these powers, with some degree of suddenness. As a child, apparently he was not the Messiah. He had spent his youth in the labors and pursuits of industry and virtue. Though he had been chosen from his birth to be in after years the messenger of God, he appears to have lived, until he was inspired at the baptism by the descent of the spirit, as the son of Joseph the carpenter; nor has any record been left to show, that he was peculiarly distinguished from mankind, during that period, or that he attracted the attention of men by marked peculiarity.

From the communications made to Mary, to whom he stood in the relation of a child, from the miracle by which he was born, Mary knew that he was to be the long-expected Messiah; and we must suppose, that the fact was communicated by her to him. A knowledge of the prophecy and the promise of God, thus made concerning him at his birth, must indeed have prepared his mind in some degree for the communication of such power and knowledge, as would qualify him for the work to which he was designed. Yet the scene at the Baptism,—if we may suppose that it was by the descent of the spirit at that time, that he was specially prepared, qualified, “inspired” for the work,—may have been unexpected. The power and the knowledge, which were communicated, may have been great and wonderful, beyond any of his previous conceptions and expectations. The love, with which God regarded him, as his Son, may have been before unknown to him; and the work, the mission, the office, in its vastness, in its importance as then unfolded to him, may have altogether transcended his previous ideas of the office of the Messiah.

If he was invested with an office different from what he had imagined the messiahship to be ; if he was invested with powers, authority, and dignity, which he had not quite expected ; if he was now looking over the vast world, and through distant ages, and seeing the people of all nations, even in dim futurity, bowing down to acknowledge him as their Saviour and Lord ;— the thoughts which rolled in upon his spirit, we may readily suppose, were mingled with pain. And even if his views of the office, to which he was designed, had for years been extending, until they embraced the whole dignity to which he was introduced, — even on this supposition, the near aspect of his ministry, hitherto viewed only at a distance, may have been in a high degree oppressive to his mind. A sense of responsibility, deeper than was ever borne before, must have weighed upon him. The people of all climes and every age were depending upon him ; upon his conduct, in his ministry, appeared to depend the life and death, the happiness and wo of untold millions of beings. Imagine for a moment, that he saw the world as it then was, and as it now is ;— if no farther view were granted to him into the blissful joys or the enduring pains of another world, the thought of the intimate connexion of his agency with the prospects that were to be unfolded, must have deeply tried his mind.

All this, indeed, is supposition. What was the knowledge possessed by Jesus, before he arrived at the commencement of his ministry, we do not know ; and no more can we tell the feelings, with which he surveyed it, when he was about to begin its course. But it does not seem irreverent or unreasonable, to imagine feelings, like those that have been mentioned, to crowd upon the mind of one, such as Jesus of Nazareth is related to have been.

We suppose, then, that Jesus, being possessed with feelings such as these, was led into the wilderness, that in solitary meditation and in unreserved communion with God, he might recover his spirit, and prepare himself with strength to support the responsibility, and undergo the labors and trials which awaited him. He was directed thither, by suggestions providentially made to his mind, — as providence is sometimes spoken of, — or by a suggestion peculiar and miraculous, that he might have an opportunity to meditate upon the life which awaited him, that he might survey the probable difficulties which he should meet, and be enabled through just considera-

tion to banish from his mind whatever pain he suffered from an apprehension, that he might not worthily discharge the office which he had been called to undertake.

It is in feelings such as these, in such an apprehension, that we may suppose the Temptation or the Trials in the wilderness consisted. That the mind of Jesus was of a character to feel the apprehensions to which we have alluded, seems to be probable, from all else that we know concerning him. In the humility of his heart, he refused to allow himself to be called "good." He was not exempt, apparently, from some degree of dread, as he looked forward to the death which he was to meet. He truly suffered as it approached, and earnestly desired that the baptism,—which once he hoped would be hastened on, that it might be passed,—should, now that it had arrived, be suffered to pass away. The narratives of the Evangelists clearly revealing the humility of Jesus, and the pain with which he viewed approaching trials, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that he may have felt apprehensions concerning the success, with which he should be able to finish the work committed to him; that he may have feared, lest his strength would not sustain him under inevitable trials, lest, in circumstances of peculiar danger, he should act unworthily of the Son of God, the appointed messenger of Heaven.

The three "temptations," which Jesus is related to have met, present no circumstances widely at variance with the suppositions which we have made. The ministry of Jesus was to be passed in much hardship. "For our sakes he became poor," and had not "where to lay his head." If Jesus saw beforehand how houseless he was to roam, and how destitute of the means of life he might often be, what would more naturally occur to his mind, than to question whether he should never be tempted to use miraculous means to supply his daily wants. The question may seem at first sight unimportant; but it seems highly important, when we consider with what different feelings we should have regarded him, if he had in times of hunger commanded stones to be made bread, or used at any time for his own ends the miraculous power, with which he was intrusted. That power was a sacred trust. It was devoted to one great end; and throughout life we see it used for one great purpose, the establishment of truth, and in one sacred way, beneficence toward man. It may have been a trial to Jesus, before his ministry commenced, to reflect upon

the charge which was entrusted to him, and to fear lest he should turn it from its sacred design, at times when he could see no other way in which to supply the pressing necessities of daily existence.

If such a fear were the trial, which is related first to have beset him, it was banished from his mind, apparently, by an appropriate reflection ;— simply, by a feeling, that in the midst of his hunger in the wilderness he could trust in God, that in his present want he felt no temptation, or no difficulty in resisting the temptation to supply his wants by making bread from stones. Man doth not live by bread alone, but by the commandments of God. A knowledge of the will of God, which Jesus found sufficient in one instance to enable him to forbear from an improper use of divine power, he felt would be sufficient afterward to restrain him. In the trial in the wilderness he had *experience* of his strength, and was able consequently to banish from his mind a painful apprehension.

The second trial may have been similar. Besides the hardships of want, he was to be exposed to violence from men. It was not to be supposed that in so corrupt a land, the faithful witness of the truth of God would be endured. A Messiah, who should offer none but spiritual honors to his followers, and refuse to lead them on to earthly conquests, could by no means expect to be received in peace by the proud and haughty Jews. But the dangers, which the Messiah must expect, Jesus could easily escape by the exertion of miraculous power. We can easily imagine, that he was tried by the apprehension, lest he should be tempted in danger to use, for his own purposes, a power which was committed to him for the salvation of others.

This apprehension we may suppose he met, also, simply by his consciousness of trust in God. The word of God had been published in olden times concerning the Messiah, that the angels should have charge of him, and bear him in their hands, lest at any time he should dash his foot against a stone. They would bear him up if he were to descend from the pinnacle of the temple. But he felt no wish to make trial of their protection ; and by never tempting Divine Providence by throwing himself into unnecessary danger, by withdrawing from danger, as we find that he often did, he disappointed the wrath of men, and saved himself against them. Many martyrdoms, as they have been named, would have been avoided, had the

faithful preachers of truth been equally faithful to the command, "thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."

The last trial, which, from the account in the Gospel, we have supposed that he endured, arose from an apprehension, that he should at some time be tempted to desert his ministry altogether, or to attempt to fulfil the wishes of the Jews and accept an earthly instead of a spiritual throne. If in the wilderness his imagination may have surveyed the wealth, the honors, and kingdoms of the world, and his mind have seen that they were altogether in his possession if he chose to grasp at them, yet it is not to be supposed, that he felt in the least degree a desire to reach out his hand to seize them. Aside from any revelation of heavenly things, which at his baptism may have been made to him, his own purity of character, his spirituality of mind, we suppose sufficient to have elevated him above the low impulses of earthly ambition. Who can suppose, that Jesus in the desert felt that earthly possessions, and the slavish homage rendered to an earthly king could present attractions to his mind? But it is not equally clear, that in surveying, on the one side, the dangers to which his ministry of the truth was exposed, and considering, on the other, the hope of the Jews, that a glorious prince of earthly power was to appear, he may not have, at the time when he had just been anointed for his office, entertained a fear lest his choice of right and obedience to God might fail in the midst of the temptations by which he was to be tried. But if his trial in the wilderness consisted in any such apprehension, we are to suppose that reflection gave him reason to believe, that the world could not tempt him from the work, and that an assurance of his power became complete and fixed, before he left the wilderness to undertake his public labors.

Briefly, then; we have supposed that not temptation in the wilderness, but the apprehension of temptation in the untried scenes of his ministry, constituted the trial which Jesus endured. The form in which the narrative appears, we have supposed, arose either from an allegorical manner of speaking common among Jewish writers, or, which seems more probable, from an understanding common among the Jews, that the evils suffered by men proceeded from the hostility of a fallen angel, Satan. If Jesus related to his disciples that he was tried, they, as Jews, would understand that he was tried by Satan, and would be likely so to represent the trial in narrating it to others. The

feelings, with which Jesus was oppressed, they would understand to be the suggestions of Satan; and by a way of speaking common in all times, they would represent the supposed suggestions of Satan as being uttered in actual words.

It was a strange idea to build upon the slight foundation of the narrative of the Evangelist, that God gave permission to Satan to try his powers of Temptation upon the appointed Messiah. It involves a vast variety of suppositions and theories, which poetry may handle well, and which Milton has at some length drawn out. We need not remark upon it further. We have remarked sufficiently for the illustration of our own idea upon the other views of the Temptation of the Saviour, most commonly entertained at the present day. To view our Saviour tried by apprehension, brings him nearer to us. It gives a reality to his life and character. It helps to give individuality to his character; it enables us to see more clearly the sublimity and force of his virtues, and to understand that perfection, which had been previously too much a shadow or a word. It is probable that we understand little as yet, we feel little as yet, the personal character of Jesus. We may make many failures in studying to understand it; yet it is a source of satisfaction to feel, that the more one pursues the study, the character continually engages more the affection and reverence of the heart. In coming years, we trust, that the veil of mystery, which has enveloped it, will gradually be removed. Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, will not appear a dim abstraction, his words will not be read as the utterances of an oracle. They will be read as words of life, uttered by lips of purity, from a heart that felt, and they will find nearer access to the hearts of those, who would see Jesus.

E. B.

- ART. IV. — 1. *A Minister's Account of his Stewardship. A Sermon preached in Northborough, October 31, 1841.* By JOSEPH ALLEN, on the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his Ministry in that place. Printed by request. 8vo. pp. 36.
2. *Christ and him Crucified. Two Sermons preached in the Bulfinch Street Church [Boston] on Sunday, November 29, 1841. Being the close of the second year of the Ministry of the Pastor.* By FREDRICK T. GRAY. With an Appendix. 8vo. pp. 56.
3. *Farewell Address to the Unitarian Society in Nashua.* By SAMUEL OSGOOD. [Printed for the use of the Society.] 12mo. pp. 36.

WE take up these pamphlets together, because they are of the same class, and because they offer occasion to some observations, which we are glad to have a fair opportunity to make. In one point of view they are hardly the fit subjects of public remark, as each may be considered the confidential talk of a pastor to his spiritual family, in which others have no concern. But as we are permitted to overhear it, and much of it is of general interest, we suppose that within proper limits we may indulge ourselves in speaking out the train of thoughts which it has suggested to our minds.

Mr. Allen, as his title page shows us, has been for twenty-five years minister of the same Congregational Church in Northborough; a period of time longer than falls to the lot of many in these days of frequent change, and not far below the average length of the ministry in New England; a period of time among the most interesting which have been known to the churches of Massachusetts, and during which his official life, like that of all his brethren, has received an important coloring from the general state of the religious community. Twenty-five years ago was near the beginning of that action into which the previous movements of opinion burst forth. There had been a preparation of many years; and the tendencies of thought and the occasional murmurings of the pulpit and the press had given signal of an approaching eruption. A few individuals had taken their distinctive ground, and separated from the heretical favorers of Unitarian opinions. But for the most part the state of affairs remained as it had been in the

days of old, and the Congregational Church was undivided. Many of our towns had not been broken in upon by any sectarian movement whatever, and in their capacity of towns still provided for the support of the Gospel. The primitive Congregational establishment remained. Such was Northborough in 1816, when Mr. Allen was ordained there; and he dwells, with fondness and almost with regret, on the memory of the day, when all within the municipal borders were within the same ecclesiastical fold, and he was consecrated bishop over them by the imposition of hands, which had subscribed to different articles of doctrinal faith, but were still joined in the bonds of Congregational fellowship.

One might draw a very beautiful picture of such a state of things; few conditions of society could be made in idea more desirable; — a whole large neighborhood associated together as one religious family, of which the minister is the common father, carrying the gracious influences of truth and love into all dwellings, and like an angel of light dispensing everywhere the benignant breath of heaven; no alienations, no controversies, no theological disputes, no miserable theological gossip. We do not wonder, that when this picture, adorned by the imagination, and glowing with the feelings of a kind heart, comes up to the thought, many are inclined to sigh bitterly at the departure of the old days, and to lament over the divided aspect of the present. But though the modern divisions are extreme and lamentable, it does not follow that the former days were better. The glory with which they are invested to our fancy is derived from the supposition, that they were days of absolute hearty unity of faith and affection, as well as of external junction, and that the individual life of the soul was vigorous. But such a condition of things is not to be hoped for. It has been sought for for two thousand years and never found. A thousand men cannot agree to think alike because they happen to live in contiguous houses; and if they do not think alike on subjects of such intense personal interest as religious doctrine, they cannot *heartily* live by their own views, and at the same time *heartily* go along with those who cherish discordant views. They can get no further than toleration and good will; they must repress, in order to keep up their Christian fellowship, something of the zealous expression of their most favorite notions, and refrain from something of the acts to which they are prompted. They must live in the self-denial of a perpet-

ual compromise. They must either do this, and then their religious life dwindles, or they must maintain that life by a contrary course, and then the uniformity is broken, and charity and peace depart. Now we suppose, that the religious life of the soul is that which is chiefly to be desired; and that since this is best promoted by the unreserved expression and action of the favorite faith, among those who heartily coincide; it is best that such should come together and keep each other warm. We are inclined to think, that experience teaches this; and that in many places, where a united town has separated itself into parts, according to the laws of doctrinal agreement, there have grown up two or three bodies of active and helpful believers, doing great things for themselves and others, because now unconstrained, in the place of the one old parish which was unlikely to maintain a high style of life, because each individual was compelled to modify and concede for the sake of others. No one, who has read Dr. Laing's account of the state of religion in Norway, where an absolute unbroken uniformity among the people is attended by an almost universal indifference and inactivity, will have any doubt about preferring the living, thinking, inquiring, and progressive condition of our American community, however it may be accompanied with inconveniences.

Without, therefore, being at all unaware of the evils of division, and the inconsiderate, unnecessary, and wanton multiplication of sects, we may certainly find good reasons for being satisfied with the changes of the last quarter of a century. There is evidence everywhere, that religion has been advanced to a higher and more active place in the community, and we are not sure, that toleration and charity have lost ground. The manner in which Mr. Allen expresses himself on this point is greatly honorable to his frankness; and would probably find a response in the thought of many others similarly situated. After speaking of the change, which took place in the building up of other societies out of that one, over which he had been ordained as minister of the town, he adds, —

“But I soon became reconciled to the change which was so painful at first, and though I cannot cease to lament the disruption of old ties, I now feel that God meant it for good; and I have a strong conviction, that no part of my ministry has been more prosperous, or accompanied with more solid satisfaction, than that comprised within the period I am now reviewing.”

And it is very plain, from expressions used elsewhere in the discourse, that, with some exceptions, good feeling and true charity have been no sufferers in the case. The same is evident from the following passage in Mr. Osgood's "Farewell Address."—

"There has been a singular reign of good-will in all the societies in town. All have minded their own business, thought and worshiped in their own way, and left others to follow theirs. For good neighborly feeling, I much doubt whether Nashua is surpassed by any community in the land. The clergy of the place, without compromising their faith, walk together as a band of brethren. They have always treated me with as much courtesy as I desire, and reciprocated the kindness I have ever felt for them. I have made it a principle to have fellowship with every minister, who in a serious spirit professes to preach the Gospel of Christ. I have exchanged with three clergymen of different churches in town; not for the purpose of throwing aside our mutual doctrinal differences, but for the sake of expressing that Christian sympathy which should exist between all ministers of the gospel of love. Those clergymen, who have not proffered an exchange, have extended all the courtesies, that Christian kindness should dictate, and we ought no more to demand, that they should interchange pulpits with our preachers, if they do not think it best, than that they should give up their opinions to please us. Christian charity is all that should be demanded, and that has been freely given."—pp. 25, 26.

There are other items of past history, which Mr. Allen's discourse brings up to memory, and which make us wish that some one would give us at large a set of graphic reminiscences of those days. It reminds us, for example, of the good old fraternal custom, not yet wholly extinct, long may it live, by which, on the decease of a minister, the vacated pulpit "was supplied for a succession of Sabbaths by the ministers of the neighboring towns;" a delightful manifestation of sympathizing fellowship; when brotherly love stepped in to testify its regard for the departed, to speak comfort to the mourning, and to strengthen the bond between the churches. There was the custom, also, on the ordination of his successor, of subjecting the young man to examination about his faith;—still retained in the orthodox part of the Congregational body, though abandoned amongst us. We suppose that Mr. Allen was one of the last who was subjected to it, though for several years later the

candidate was permitted or requested rather than required, to read to the council "a statement of his theological views, and of the leading purposes and aims with which he entered the ministry." There seems to have been good reason for giving up the practice of catechising the young man; but perhaps it is not so clear, that the other practice, of his reading what may be called his Inaugural Address, might not have been advantageously retained. Something of this kind is recognised on other similar occasions of formal induction into office, as an appropriate and natural part of the solemnity. So it was anciently at the ordination; for the candidate preached his own sermon. But since it has become customary for him to request a friend to preach that sermon, the occasion is wholly destitute of any such expression on his part, as is always thought pertinent to such solemnities. A paper read before the Council would perhaps be hardly public enough; and we should like to witness the introduction of a service, like that which has been sometimes used among our brethren in England. On several occasions, we have observed that the formalities were commenced by an address from the congregation by one of its members, announcing the arrangements that had been made, and inviting and welcoming the pastor elect; to which he makes a suitable reply, in what is, in all propriety, an inaugural discourse. The two parties most interested are thus made to have a share in the transactions, and not left to stand by in silence while anything is done by proxy.* We like it.

* It appears from a note in a late number of the London "Christian Reformer," (December, 1841, p. 750,) that our beautiful apostolic form of the "Right Hand of Fellowship" is finding its way into these occasions; but the writer seems to have a very crude notion of its origin and intent, when he asks, "whether the novel practice of shaking hands, imported from America, have any advantage above laying hands on the head, the ancient form of parental and other benediction,—to compensate for its commonness and familiarity, and its total want of dignity, much more of sanctity?" It should be known, that both symbols belong to the ordination service among us, each having its own distinct and peculiar signification, incapable of being transferred to the other; the one indicating the consecration of the minister to his work, the other expressing the welcome and acceptance of the brethren; both founded on the practice of the apostles; neither of them novel, and both to be found in Britain without importing from America. We may add, too, that we "give" the Right Hand, we do not "shake hands;"—as was said in another connexion, it is *jungere dexteras*, not *agitare dexteras*.

We find a recent instance in the services at the ordination of the Rev. P. P. Carpenter.* On that occasion the order was as follows. Prayer; Lessons from Scripture; Hymn; Statement by one of the congregation; Reply of the Pastor elect; Charge; Hymn; Address to the congregation; Right Hand of Fellowship; Hymn; Concluding Prayer. Two parts of the service usual with us are omitted; the Sermon and the Ordaining Prayer. The purpose of the latter is comprised in the other prayers; but its solemnity and impressiveness, it seems to us, is very much impaired for want of the apostolic laying on of hands; which act, being apostolic, might be easily restored to use, without danger of superstitious consequences. There is more objection perhaps to the omission of the Sermon. But it may be urged, that the service has a more complete unity without it. As practised, it frequently introduces the discussion of topics quite foreign to the immediate occasion. Its original propriety consisted in its being the introductory address of the pastor, and it is no longer needed when that address is restored to him. The great reason for retaining it would be, that it offers a suitable opportunity to our experienced divines to bring forward their mature discussions of some subjects of prominent importance, and which it would be an evil to lose. To which it might be replied, that in point of fact this is done extremely seldom; if the subjects were not appropriate to the occasion, the omission would be no loss; and if they were, the discussion might be thrown into the Charge, or the Address to the People.

The Liverpool "Christian Teacher" for January offers a different view from that which we have here ventured to suggest. The statement is so well made and so pertinent, that we take pleasure in laying it by the side of our own.

"The only part of the Service, in the form employed at Stand, of which we more than doubt the wisdom and propriety, is the Address required from the young Minister, in which he is expected to give a statement of his views and motives in undertaking the office of Pastor. We object to any man being required to speak of his own motives, — it is making a provision

* Services at the Presbyterian Chapel, Stand; on occasion of the ordination of the Rev. P. P. Carpenter, B. A. By the Revds. J. G. Robberds, C. Wellbeloved, and J. J. Tayler.

for insincerity, conventionalism, and exaggeration,—and the purest and holiest motives will be nothing the purer and holier for being publicly professed. The sacredness of motives forbids the enforcement of their sacredness upon others. That which God is to judge of, and the heart is to guard, must not be avowed to man.

“Neither can we regard it, as at all prudent or becoming, that the young Minister should make a declaration of views or opinions even of the most general kind. No young Minister can be chosen for the maturity of his judgment, or the ripeness of his knowledge on Theological Subjects. He ought to feel that only his moral and devotional qualities can be of much value to others. If he professes doctrines or doubts, he may be giving a fixed record to opinions, which increased knowledge and experience may lead him to wish blotted from the printed page. *Litera scripta manet.*”—pp. 83, 84.

While we are upon this article, we must gratify ourselves with quoting two other passages. We need not point out what is so obviously beautiful and just in their tone of thought and expression.

“We rejoice to see these Services resumed in the Unitarian Churches; and that these, the first published Services, for many years, are of a beauty and felicity that cannot fail to recommend and justify the practice. We know no social occasion more worthy of a religious celebration, than the first connexion of a young Minister with his Congregation. It is one of solemn interest to him; and he ought not to be left alone at such a time, unassured whether there is the least sympathy with his position or his feelings in other breasts. Nothing can be more cold, bare, and heartless, than the common usage of our Churches in this respect. The young Minister, timid, trembling, awed, is left to introduce himself, to speak of his own emotions, to anatomize his own confused sensibilities,—to preach on Duties and Relations of which he knows nothing by experience,—and is then suffered to retire, doubting whether an occasion so great to him has any interest for others,—and whether by taking for granted earnest solicitude on the part of his Congregation, the solemn Charge just committed to him, he has not been guilty of painful exaggeration and extravagance. These inaugural days are cold promises of future zeal and co-operation; and we speak from experience when we say, that they are enough to kill at once the romance and enthusiasm of the profession.”—p. 82.

"The Address to the Congregation is from Mr. John James Tayler. It is wise, gentle, affectionate, tender, and, which is necessary where these qualities are found, melancholy. Alas, there is a pensiveness about everything that connects itself with the beauty and holiness of man's moral nature. It excites a state of longing and desire, and the consciousness of deficiency and want. But such pain is sanctifying,—and he who has the power of exciting it is a true benefactor to the soul. What is the eloquence that dazzles and astonishes to the eloquence that lingers, like a heavenly voice, in the still, sad soul, and awakens the sighings of aspiration? It is, indeed, impossible for any man of sensibility to introduce a young Minister to his solemn charge, or to speak of what may lie before him, without strong and sad emotion. What may not occur to take the edge of hope from the finest spirit? What certain disappointments are awaiting the most faithful, and the most able? What humiliations, self-upbraidings, bitter agonies of solitary despondency, utter abandonment to the sense of weakness and insufficiency, tears almost of despair, shed in secret, over the barrenness and poverty of both intellect and spirit, must be the certain lot of that man, who with any elevation of nature, any communion with Christ, prepares himself to speak worthily to the highest faculties of his fellow men? They must be wonderfully gifted, or wonderfully careless, to whom these things are unknown. But through such struggles lies the way to that pure, trustful, unambitious service which God blesses and accepts."—p. 89.

To return now to some of the customs which are brought up to memory by the reminiscences of Mr. Allen's ministry,—we remember how, on the arrival of the Council at the Church, the ceremony began with the solemn proposition to the members of the Society, whether they adhered to their choice of this man as their minister; whereupon they ratified it with uplifted hands; and the pastor elect, being in like manner called upon, signified his acceptance of the call. This was an impressive transaction, but not without its inconveniences. Tradition reports to us, that on one occasion, the people having transferred their preference to another preacher, who had casually appeared in their pulpit, retracted their call when summoned to confirm it, and the assembly dispersed in a sort of consternation. Whether the danger of such an occurrence should weigh for or against the practice, we will not argue; but for some cause or other the custom is

gradually becoming obsolete. So also is another practice, very frequent in country villages in the days of our fathers, of celebrating the occasion by a ball in the evening. It was a very strange and unaccountable incongruity. It may be well enough at Rome to commemorate the great festivals of the Church by illuminations at Saint Peter's, and to celebrate the Saviour's Resurrection by fireworks and cannonade; it is all conformable to the system of appeal to the senses. But that the Puritans of New England, or their descendants, to whom a church more adorned or more comfortable than a barn was a profanation, and whose sense of religious propriety was shocked by the sound of bass viols and flutes among the singers, should yet have celebrated the most solemn transaction in their ecclesiastical annals with dancing in the hall of a tavern, is certainly a most perplexing phenomenon. It is one mark of the improvement of modern days, that the impropriety has been abandoned; as well also as the great gatherings on the occasion with booths and refreshments, which gave it too much of the character of an English Fair and merry making. The great infrequency of occasions of public meeting, in the days of the colony and soon after the revolution, was doubtless one cause; ordinations, in these days, where parishes are multiplied and the ministry changeable, are no rarities; — but besides this, there is unquestionably a general perception of the indecorum of such a method of celebration, which marks an improved state of refinement. Even the ordination dinner, — an essential item, because hospitality must be offered to the brethren who have come from a distance, — is a far slighter affair than it was thirty years ago; and that in other particulars than the banishment of unsuitable liquors. So much has the feeling on the subject changed, that ordinations have taken place without any public dinner; and in many instances, the service has been transferred to the afternoon or evening, so as to substitute a light tea-drinking for a heavy dining. The times appear to be conforming themselves to the description of Cotton Mather, who says that after the solemnities of the day are over, *Cœnatur modestè, cum timore Dei*. It is an improvement on which we may congratulate ourselves.

Mr. Allen adverts very pleasantly to this whole subject.

“But to return to the day and the occasion, whose twenty-fifth anniversary we are called to notice. It would be difficult for those, who have come upon the stage of action since the

time when the multiplication of new Societies, and the frequent removal of ministers, have made an ordination an every-day affair, that attracts very little notice, beyond the immediate limits of the parish, to form any adequate conception of the interest of such an occasion at the period referred to. The interest pervaded the whole community, and extended into neighboring towns. Preparations were made for it on a scale of liberality, which seemed to imply that trouble and expense were of no account. To the inhabitants of Northborough it was a day of Jubilee, such as had not occurred among them for nearly 50 years; and as might well be supposed it was anticipated and welcomed with great joy. The day at length arrived; and it was one of those serene and mild days, that in our climate commonly intervene between the first frosts and the setting in of winter. Multitudes flock in from the neighboring towns. The church is filled in every part; and great numbers are unable to obtain admittance. After the services are over, the great assembly disperses, and all find a welcome at the well furnished tables that are spread for them in the houses of the inhabitants. The eagerness, with which the invitations are given and pressed even upon strangers, reminds one of Eastern hospitality."— pp. 5, 6.

Another change, which has come over the customs of the land within the period under review, is that from a permanent to a transient ministry. The term of pastoral service, instead of being for life, is now but for a few years; and the question is sometimes asked, whether it can be advisable to retain the ceremony of ordination, since these rapid changes have made it of so frequent occurrence. It loses its solemnity and efficacy, it is said; and it would be better to give it up than by this rapid repetition turn it into a farce. For ourselves we confess, that we do not like to hear the matter spoken of in such terms, and the view itself seems to us erroneous. The Service is intrinsically appropriate, solemn, affecting; and if decently performed is no more likely to become contemptible through frequent repetition, than public worship, or family prayer. What is right and proper in itself remains so on the thousandth repetition as on the first, and may be so performed as to appear so; and then the world may be defied to see anything farcical in it. There is as yet attached to this service, and there must remain attached to it, in the minds of most persons, a sacredness which renders it of most wholesome influence, and greatly

helps to sustain those associations with the sacred office, which are so necessary to its dignity and strength. And there are few ministers, young or old, who possess so much dignity and strength in their own poor persons, that they can afford to lose the additional advantage which the associations of office give them.

Yet we are well aware that many are disposed, for this very reason, to abrogate the service,—namely, that it implies a sanctity in the office, which clothes it with an influence independent of the personal qualities of him who holds it; and, with what seems to us a suicidal policy, ministers are often heard on public occasions to use language which tends to destroy the natural reverence which men feel for holy office and station. Their language is, “We claim nothing on account of our office; nothing but for our character and services.” Alas for the majority of ministers, and alas for the efficacy of their labors, if the people should take them at their word! What would they be able to do without the sanction which they derive from this quarter? They need its shelter to their weakness, inexperience, or insufficiency;—for it is impossible that all should be in themselves strong, experienced, or sufficient. They need support out of themselves; not only in the divine source upon which they lean by faith, but in the honor which is reflected on them from their station in the Church, and the trust which men give them “for their work’s sake.”* They have a right to claim something in their character of ambassadors for Christ; and there would seem to be more *humility* in that claim, than in the claim for personal character and services.

* This feeling is expressed by the Rev. William Turner of Newcastle, in the address made upon taking leave of his congregation, after a ministry of sixty years. In rehearsing the labors and honors of his protracted life, he says, modestly and truly, “It could only have been *through the respectability of my situation as your minister*, that I have been enabled to succeed in promoting the establishment of various institutions, literary, scientific, educational, and charitable,—all which have been to me a source of great satisfaction.” No more exemplary or respectable man, or more worthy of influence could be found, than Mr. Turner; yet who does not perceive what a difference there exists between the influence of Mr. Turner, the private citizen, and Mr. Turner, the public minister of Religion?

There is an instinctive respect for sacred office in man's nature. It cannot be eradicated without serious detriment. In a country and state of society like ours, especially, it is of unspeakable importance that it be cherished. The clergy should be the last to strike a blow at it. Their modesty may shrink from arrogating to themselves anything on account of it; but it would be a false modesty. True modesty takes in silence whatever naturally and properly belongs to the position it holds. It eagerly assumes nothing, it sensitively rejects nothing. In perfect simplicity it takes what society is accustomed to bestow as due. The honor, which society always has bestowed upon the office of its spiritual teachers, it still bestows; and nothing but harm can come of the attempt to prevent it.

All this is, of course, consistent with the imperative requisition of a character and services worthy of respect and confidence. The best way of magnifying the office is by fidelity in the discharge of its duties. He that uses it to shelter negligence only covers himself with disgrace. He must show himself worthy of the honor put upon him; and the publications before us seem to us deserving especial notice, because they are to a great extent the records of pastoral activity. At some periods and in some places, no inconsiderable portion of the incumbents of the sacred office might properly be called *recumbents*; they "sat in Moses' seat," as in an easy chair; they were of those who "say, but do not." But the histories before us show that their authors are of a different mind, who have taken up "action, action, action," for the motto of their high calling; they have supposed themselves ordained to do something; they have fashioned their ministry on similar notions of influence and results with those which produced the effective lives of Dr. Parker, for example, amongst ourselves, and of Dr. Carpenter in England, — from the memoirs of the latter of whom we have just risen, with a glow of admiration for the various and indefatigable labors, which filled his devout and benevolent life. This is the sort of ministry which *tells* upon the world; which the times cry out for; which the past shows to be honorable, and to which our young men are entreated to regard themselves as summoned in the future. In the book to which we have just alluded, we have been struck with a corroboration of this. The town of Kidderminster, Dr. Carpenter's birthplace, in which Baxter exercised nearly two hundred years ago a ministry of the character we have spoken of, is said to have borne traces of it down to

within the last half century ; “ Baxter was still spoken of with reverence ; and the town in its peculiarly orderly and religious habits, and in the general prevalence of education,” (and on a preceding page is mentioned “ the punctuality with which public worship was then attended by almost every one,”) “ impressed every thoughtful and religious mind with a strong sense of the inestimable importance of the diffusion of that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation.” * Indeed there is no setting limits to the good which may be effected to the community in which he lives, by the judicious activity of a disinterested, devoted minister. The respect belonging to his office gives him an advantage at the outset, which adds to the efficiency of every well devised movement ; and a life of twenty-five years thus spent may see him in the midst of a generation, whose manners, principles, characters, have grown up beneath his hand, and all whose institutions, virtues, and happiness bear the marks of his culture. What a reward to the toiling and perhaps wearied mind, and what a stimulus should it be to the enterprise of the young man, who may hope, that if he thus abandon himself to his work, giving himself, like the apostles, “ wholly to these things,” he may see with his own eyes and share in his own person the noblest fruits of human effort.

How various those labors may be, and into how many channels a village minister’s influence may run, is made apparent from Mr. Allen’s experience as recorded in his sermon. We might learn from it, that it is the place of the ministry to inter-meddle with all life, and act upon every interest of man and society ; that it has to do with whatever concerns human improvement, and seconds every institution that seeks human happiness. Besides the direct offices of religion, — the stated worship, the regular and the occasional preaching, the constant presence with the flock as spiritual friend, counsellor, and guide, and the care of the religious education of the young ; — it comes forward also to encourage, help, stimulate, promote whatever may advance the intellectual and social well-being of society, and carry forward the purposes of education and humanity. Under this view of the opportunities of his position

* *Memoirs of the life of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL. D., with selections from his Correspondence. Edited by his son, Russel Lant Carpenter, B. A. 8vo. p. 516. 1842.*

for "doing good unto all men," we find that Mr. Allen founded a Library for young Ladies, a Juvenile Library, and a Parish Library ; making a beginning of the latter in a donation of fifty volumes from his own shelves ; originated the Lyceum by giving "a course of twelve lectures on Astronomy in the Town Hall, which was followed by two similar courses, consisting of twelve lectures each, on several departments in Natural History and Natural Philosophy, the two next years ; the concluding lecture of each course being given in the Meeting-house, with religious exercises ;" which Lyceum, thus beginning among the earliest in the country, has continued flourishing to the present time ; — and, as was natural, he says, under the circumstances of his first position there, as sole minister, "the principal direction of the schools, — as in the choice of books, the methods of teaching, &c., — was placed in my hands ; a sacred trust, which, however it may have been abused, I have been permitted to hold, through all the changes that we have experienced in our ecclesiastical affairs, without interruption, for twenty-five years." To this is appended a note, which, as showing how much of the conduct of our common schools in the country falls upon the ministers, we extract at length.

"The office of a School Committee-man, at least of the Chairman, is no sinecure. Besides the time taken up in the meetings of the board, the examination of candidates, the taking of the annual census, and the preparation of the annual reports to the town and the Board of Education, the schools in the six districts are to be visited each at least four times in the year, making in all twenty-four visitations. I have no doubt that the average number of visitations, that I have made of the schools in this town, will exceed this number for each of the 25 years of my ministry. Assuming that as the average number, the whole would amount to 600, occupying nearly as many half days. For several years, the committee devoted a day to the last examination of each of the winter schools, carrying their dinners with them, and spending most of the intermission in a careful examination of the writings. And this has been done, at least so far as the Chairman is concerned, without pecuniary compensation, though not without reward." — pp. 9, 10.

What a beautiful institution is the Christian Ministry, thus standing on the central point in society, and stretching out a helping and fertilizing hand on every side ; allying itself to

everything useful, rejoicing in all improvement, and aiming to lift up every generation to a point above that which the preceding had attained. In the eye of the world, it is an obscure and humble office, and we sometimes hear a sigh uttered over those persons "buried" in the seclusion of a rustic parsonage; but what mind ever so gifted, as it looked out after a long service from that humble dwelling upon a grateful and peaceful people, educated for earth and prepared for heaven by its watchful care, thought it matter of regret, or of anything but congratulation, that God had so ordered its lot and crowned its probation? What Oberlin ever repined at being buried among the half civilized mountaineers?

The sermons of Mr. Gray belong to the same class, and illustrate the same truths. In many respects, however, they are widely different from that of Mr. Allen. Instead of a long, they comprise the records of a short ministry; they have regard to a city and not to a country congregation; and they have been published only because of peculiar circumstances in the condition of the parish. With these we at present have nothing to do, further than to remark, that the vindication, which they offer, of the course taken by the church and congregation against the opposition of a disappointed minority, is satisfactory and complete. Those who may wish to know the merits of the case are referred to the pamphlet itself. What interests us in the publication, is the evidence which it discloses, that its author proposes to himself a ministry such as we have been speaking of, which is active to do and resolved on seeing results; a ministry of multiplied means and measures; in which the people are invited, encouraged, taught, to take part in bringing about moral and religious results; in which a various and wide-spread coöperation of pastor and people is the standing order of the day; and where consequently the minister lives, not exclusively in his pulpit and his study, but in the presence and families of his flock, his time being theirs, his eye and ear always open to them, and his hands at their command. Such is evidently the plan; a plan, which, as we have already suggested, realizes the idea of the pastoral relation, and secures, in ordinary cases, the most hopeful results.

"There are some here, as in every society, who think that the religious services of the Sabbath are insufficient to keep alive progress in the Christian life and character. For these a

course of lectures was commenced, (similar to those of former days with you in the vestry,) and these have been held every Thursday evening throughout the year, at which all who felt disposed were at liberty to attend. At these meetings, there has generally been delivered an extemporaneous discourse, and sometimes our brethren have addressed the meeting. On the afternoon, also, of every Sabbath during the summer, after service, the adult Bible class have holden their meetings, at which there have been generally from thirty to fifty present. During the winter, a class is formed, which meet every Saturday evening. — Besides these, there has been a monthly meeting, on Sabbath evening, of the members of the Church, in the services of which the brethren take part. These meetings have done great good, by bringing together the members of the Church, and have proved highly interesting and instructive. The attendance on them has been very gratifying."

"Meetings, also, of the Sunday school teachers have been holden every fortnight."

"As these several meetings did not accomplish all we desired, a Ladies' Sewing Circle, for the purpose of laboring for the poor, was proposed and founded in June, 1840. It soon met with great favor; and it has been truly pleasant to see sixty or eighty of our mothers and daughters passing an afternoon and evening socially and pleasantly together, providing for the poor in our midst, and the orphan in his loneliness. The number that attend these meetings is a sufficient evidence of their interest and great usefulness.

"Thus, in these several ways have we sought to enlarge our acquaintance, awaken a Christian sympathy, and keep alive a deep religious interest."

"The fountain of charity and benevolence has been opened here for the poor, and its steady and refreshing stream has flowed out, gladdening and cheering many hearts abroad. Besides the collection taken up in this house, on account of the Samaritan Society, the last year, I find that you have contributed, within two years, the sum of five hundred and forty-one dollars and twenty-nine cents, which has been appropriated for preaching to the poor and the relief of the destitute.

"And you have shown that you regard the religious instruction of the young as of great moment, by the liberal contribution of two hundred and twenty-five dollars and sixty-four cents, within this period, to the Sunday school in your Society. And this stream of charity is not yet exhausted, as the collection for the poor last Sabbath gave us most cheering evidence."

"The minister, I know, must be much in his study, and

there large and ample preparations must be made; there light be gathered from other minds, and there the spirit of devotion be enkindled and kept alive. But care must be taken not to dwell there too long, and thus be led to live and preach as if in another world, high above the comprehension of practical men. To have religion of a practical and every-day character, the pastor must go out among his people, and understand how they hear and speak and think upon different topics; and, in return, he must speak plainly to them on these points. Often, while thus mingling among men, will he find the best subjects for sermons, and coming to his flock on the returning Sabbath, he will find them more ready to say, 'he has told us the truth,' than that it was a beautiful sermon, which, believe me, will be far pleasanter for him to hear."—pp. 31, 32, 33, 28.

The "Farewell Address" of Mr. Osgood, not delivered from the pulpit but distributed from the press, is occupied, like the discourses we have been speaking of, with retrospective views of his ministry, and suggests like them a great variety of topics on which we should be glad to enlarge. It particularly brings up that question, of so deep moment at the present time, of the comparative value of a permanent and a transient ministry. We cannot discuss it now; but the contrast between the abiding connexion of Mr. Allen with Northborough, and the interrupted work of Mr. Osgood at Nashua, reminds us what a change has come over our religious institutions—not in one denomination, but in all;—and this, by the force of circumstances alone, without any proper discussion of its reasonableness or expediency. Ministers and Churches of all sects have come into the practice of temporary engagements and sudden changes, as if it were the inevitable order of the times; no one attempts any check to its obvious evils, or seriously inquires whether they be inevitable or not. If it were of any use to argue the subject, we should be inclined to contend that permanency should be the rule; that no other than permanent engagements should be formed, and that none should be broken excepting for such strong reasons, existing in each case, as should be sufficient in the eyes of disinterested observers, to make it an exception to the general rule.

But this, and several other interesting questions, we must leave. Mr. Osgood bids farewell to a society after a connexion of nearly five years; and it is gratifying to have from him, as from his two elder brethren, an equally strong testimony to the pleasures and worth of an *active* ministry.

"The first step taken to improve our condition was to make proper arrangements for evening services in the church. Before that, we had no conveniences for lighting the house, and an evening lecture was quite a rarity. Accordingly a subscription was started in October 1837, and two handsome pulpit lamps and two ample chandeliers were very promptly purchased. Some persons doubted whether the people would generally attend a third service, but the result has proved the contrary, and no service has been so acceptable as those held in the evening.

"Next we laid aside our old hymn books, and much improved our devotional services by adopting Greenwood's Collection of Hymns.

"Shortly after, in the summer of 1838, we found it difficult to accommodate all who wished to worship with us, and it was thought advisable to enlarge the house. By a very simple alteration seats were provided sufficient for about a hundred additional persons. At the same time the house was made in other respects more commodious. The pulpit was newly furnished, and the sacramental service more suitably provided for.

"The same year considerable additions were made to the Sunday School Library, and the foundation of a Society Library was laid, which has been increased until the present time."—pp. 7, 8.

"The institution of our Society Library was intended to supply such reading as might excite an interest in personal religion, and induce the young especially to take a more prominent part in the cause of Christ. The books have been much read, and have produced far more good than we had reason to expect from the small sums annually expended for them. They have been very useful in furnishing subjects of elevated conversation, and have been no small help to us in our social religious meetings.

"These meetings have been held not regularly, with the exception of the Church meeting previous to the communion and the Teachers' meetings once a fortnight, but in series at such times as the state of feeling in the society seemed to require. Something has been accomplished by them, but far less than I could wish and have hoped. We have been obliged to meet at the houses of our brethren, and many, who would wish it, have not felt free to attend, because they say they do not feel at home, except in houses where they are well acquainted, and they are fearful of crowding others. We want a vestry very much—a neat room where from one to two hundred can be accommodated, and where in the middle of the

week we may socially assemble, and with hymn and prayer and reflections on the truths of religion and duties of life, may lift our hearts above the thralldom of worldly care, and more effectually realize the worth of eternal things."—pp. 11, 12.

"Besides many occasional evening services, we have had five regular courses of lectures. The first course consisted of eight lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity. The second course consisted of eight lectures to Young Men on some of the most important subjects connected with their welfare. The third course consisted of six lectures addressed to Young People, with some especial reference to the duties of women. The fourth course was of eight lectures upon the chief points in the History of Christianity. The last course treated in eight lectures the Religion of Daily Life."—p. 18.

We cannot conclude these desultory remarks, without expressing again our gratification in the labors of those, whose publications have called them forth. They have given examples of enterprise and action in the discharge of an office which easily tempts to a routine of stated tasks, to which we are thankful to have the attention of the more youthful members of the profession directed. To them such examples are full of incitement and encouragement. They offer suggestions and hints, they furnish models, upon which the true plan of an efficient ministry may be built; a ministry, as we have described it before, bent upon effecting results, enterprising to contrive means and opportunities of influence, and to secure the coöperation of the people in the promotion of religion and morality. If such a ministry implied any negligence in preparation for the pulpit; if it involved the use of all time in personal intercourse and secondary engagements, so as to break up the habit of studious application, and let down the standard of preaching; then certainly it would be conducted on a mischievous plan. To slight the pulpit is high treason to the Church. But no man can carry on the ministry we advocate, if he slight the pulpit; and when to scrupulous fidelity there he adds perpetual activity elsewhere, and multiplies occasions of influence as if he never could do enough, — *nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum*, — then he exercises the true ministry and cannot fail of rejoicing in the accomplishment of his objects. Here and there is a man to be found whose only vocation it is to preach; who was made to do all that he can do, by the power with which he gives public utterance to the

truth. That man may content himself with preaching. But the vast majority of men can do by their sermons but a small part of what they are capable of doing ; and will bring little to pass, unless they add the diligent use of other opportunities, and multiply their means of acting on their fellow men. It holds true, as in every other concern of man, the enterprising and active are capable of bringing to pass, what the mere observers of the regular routine of business would not dream to be possible.*

It is for this reason, that so much is to be hoped from the right administration of the Ministry-at-large, with which Mr. Gray was formerly so advantageously connected. It is a ministry to the homes of the people. It is the pulpit set up at the fireside. It is an attempt to change every cottage and garret into a chapel, and to make every family like that of Martha and Mary, in which the teacher shall at once receive hospitality and teach of the "better part." The exercise of that ministry demands a never-ceasing activity ; an activity like that of Jesus in Galilee, — a going from place to place, a rising early in the morning, a continuing till late at night, and a having no meat or refreshment but the recreations and enjoyments of doing good according to God's will. This would be the perfect work. Let us believe that no slight approach to it has already been made. The devices for doing good ; the multiplication of opportunities and means of access to destitute souls ; the originality and variety of the institutions in the Warren Street and other Chapels, and the earnestness with which the old and the young are invited and urged ; — give us at once specimens of what should be and a hope of what shall grow from it. Let us trust that there will be no failure on the part of those to whom this grand experiment is committed ; — no shame would be too great for those who should wreck it through their negligence. Let us also congratulate our friends in Providence on their new action there, so happily begun ; and let us send our entreaty to the churches in New York, —

* "I have often had occasion to observe, that a warm blundering man does more for the world than a frigid wise man. A man, who gets into a habit of inquiring about proprieties and expediences and occasions, often spends his life without doing anything to purpose. The state of the world is such, and so much depends on action, that everything seems to say loudly to every man, 'do something'—'do it'—'do it'." — *Cecil's Remains*, p. 204.

so loud that they shall hear it, — that they reinstate the suspended operation there.

But meantime, every assurance of the worth of that institution but serves to make it more evident, that precisely the same ministry is that which is best in the regular churches of Christendom. The same absolute, earnest, total devotedness, in season and out of season, by the house and by the way, with a perpetual study to seize upon and multiply opportunities of religious and social influence; the same determination to do something and to have no rest till something is brought to pass. "Action, action, action," is the old rule for the minister when in the pulpit; why should it be less his maxim in the duties of his daily vocation? If men are to be divided into the two classes of "the sayers and the doers," why should not the minister insist on being of the latter? The kingdom of God is not in "word" only, but in "power."

† † †

ART. V. — *The Student-Life of Germany.* By W. HOWITT, Author of "Rural Life in England," etc. From the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1842. 8vo. pp. 467.

THIS work is more remarkable for the newness of its details, than either the excellence of its execution or its absolute interest. Indeed it seems to us rather an unreadable book, except for those who have some curiosity on the subject. It purports to be the production of a young man, who had just completed his course at the university, and it bears all the marks of such an origin. There is an evident dash of the student-spirit throughout, and just enough of sober sense to show, that the near view of actual life was beginning to produce its usual effect. The translation is very far from good, and though for the most part intelligible, it helps to give the book an extremely German air.

But, with all its faults, the book is a noticeable one; nor is the assertion of its translator and English father, Mr. Howitt, so much out of the way, that, "taken as a whole, this volume

will be found to contain more that is entirely new and curious, than any one which has issued from the press for years." We have had glimpses of the Student-life in the works of Russell, and other tourists, but are now for the first time enabled to enter into its Arcana. Indeed one may have passed a whole student's life in a German university, and not have had the opportunity, without taking extraordinary pains, to get the information which this book gives us. The foreign student is excepted, as a matter of course, from all ordinary students' rules, and though he may often hear of their duels and their drinkings, and cannot but see many of their peculiarities and strange doings, yet unless at his particular request, and sometimes at some hazard, he is not admitted into their secret conclaves.

The first chapter of the book gives a general account of the Constitution and government of the German Universities, which, though perhaps really more important than the rest, we shall pass over as being probably already familiar to our readers, and information easily gained from other sources. We propose to confine ourselves rather to what is peculiar to this work. It may help, however, the understanding of the general position of the Student to state in general, that he is quite free from personal supervision of any sort, lives where he pleases, hears what lectures he sees fit, nor is he required to give any account of himself until the end of his course, when he must bring certificates of having heard certain lectures, before he can be admitted to the states' examination, on the passing of which depends his future success. On producing these he receives from the Prorector of the university, what is called a "departure-certificate," which contains the date of his matriculation, the time which he has spent at the university, a list of the lectures he has attended, and an especial testimony whether or not he has fallen under any of the academical punishments; and also whether he has taken part in any interdicted combination, or even been suspected of it, and on what grounds such suspicion rests.

It appears, therefore, that there is a kind of government exercised over the students, and perhaps we ought to have begun with stating, that on coming to the university, and presenting his certificate of having passed the examination at the Gymnasium, and of moral character, the student is matriculated, and signs a form, by which he binds himself to take no part in

any prohibited union, and to conform himself to the academical laws. These laws extend to the relations between the students and the officers of the university, as well as all other officers and magistrates of the state or city. Penalties are affixed to the various offences, of which students are apt to be guilty, and there are regulations concerning the debts which they may contract. The student is then furnished with a ticket, which he is always to keep with him, and by producing which he may, on emergency, secure a release from the hands of the police of the town or city into those of the university authorities. These consist of the Senate, the Prorector, (the Sovereign of the State in which the university is situated being the nominal Rector) and the Magistrate, or Judge. This last officer conducts all inquiries and pronounces all academical penalties, with the exception of the *consilium abeundi*. In criminal cases he sends the accused to the ordinary civil courts. The appeal from his sentence is to the Senate, which also pronounces the *consilium abeundi*. The only appeal from the sentence of the Senate is to the Minister of State.

For the administration of these laws there are especial officers maintained, called beaules. The academical punishments consist, first of reproof, then fines, then imprisonment. After this follows the *consilium abeundi*, which consists of expulsion for a year from the district of the court of justice within which the university is situated; at the expiration of the year the student must renew his matriculation. The *relegation* is the highest punishment, and is either simply expulsion, or in more aggravated cases expulsion, with previous confinement in a common prison. In case of these two last punishments notice is sent to all the German universities, and to the city magistrates, of the cause of the prosecution, as also to the parents or guardians of the student.

Notwithstanding this array of penalties and laws, however, it is still true that practically the students are left very much to themselves. The government of the university interferes with their movements as little as could well be imagined; nor at all except in cases of absolute infringement of the laws.

But it has long been known, that the students of the German universities have a code of laws amongst themselves, which are both particular, and very faithfully executed; and it is of these that we have here an account to which we now proceed.

It seems, then, that there exist in most, if not all, of the uni-

versities unions amongst the students, consisting professedly of those who come from the same kingdom, duchy, or electorate, though other students, when a country does not happen to be so represented, may on application be admitted. These unions are most generally known by the name of *Landmannschaften*, or *Clans*. In the work before us they are called *Chores*. It appears that it is entirely voluntary with every student, whether he will join these associations or not; and it is expressly admitted, that "now the smaller proportion of the students join them." Formerly, it would appear, the state of the case was quite different, every student being enrolled in some one of these *Chores*; and even now, it is added, "whenever it becomes necessary to defend the right of Studentdom, the whole body is ready to unite with them." Those students, who do not join the *Chores*, are dignified with the name of *Camels*, being no doubt supposed to bear the burdens of Study.

Every student is, of course, a *Camel* until his initiation into one of the unions. He then becomes a *Fox*; and it may be as well here as anywhere to state, that after remaining one half year, or Semester, a *Fox*, he passes by a solemn process into a *Burnt Fox*; in the third half year becomes a young *Bursch*; and in the fourth an *Old Bursch*; after the expiration of which he is a *Mossy Head*.

A description of the ceremony of initiation of the *Foxes* may serve to give some idea of the manners and the enjoyments of German students. This initiation takes place at what is called an *entrance commers*; *commers* being the general name for a regular student's revel. The candidates for initiation having announced their intentions to the *Chore*, other *Chores* are invited to assemble with it in some spacious hall.

The ceremony does not take place, it would appear from our book, until after the singing of the "*Landesvater*," or Fatherland song, with which on other occasions the *commers* is closed. But in whatever part of the evening it occurs, the singing of this song is too important a point of students' life to be passed over without particular notice. The following description we shorten from the work before us.

The whole company being seated at long tables, and as is especially noted by our author, *with their coats on*, the song begins in praise of Fatherland and *Burschen* life. At the close of the song, the two presidents, who have all the while been standing holding their drawn swords crossed, pierce their caps

through and leave them hanging on the sword—the whole company singing in the mean time an appropriate stanza. The presidents then hand the swords to their next neighbors, who now rise from their seats and stand with the swords crossed over the table, whilst a verse is sung, to which they respond, and during the chorus which follows, add their caps to those already on the swords. The presidents then taking back the swords, proceed in this manner to the bottom of the table. Then exchanging swords, they proceed, with appropriate solemnities and singing, to restore to each his cap, the whole being closed with a full chorus. This ceremony usually concludes the *commers*, and the hole in the cap is the unfailing mark of a thorough bred student.

To return to the initiation of the *Foxes*. The doors are now thrown open, and there rides in an Old Bursch on a chair with the back before him, followed by the aspirants for honors, each seated like himself, and all dressed in white leather breeches and jack boots. As the train appears the whole assembly break forth into singing, to which the *Foxes* and their leader respond in alternate verses. It would hardly become the dignity of our journal to transcribe these effusions of the students' muse; and it may be sufficient to say, that the songs consist of various inquiries into the state of affairs at home, and the health of the *Fox's* family, to which he makes appropriate replies. After this the *Fox's* abilities are put to a test with pipes and beer, till upon a signal from the president of the *Chore*, the trial is deemed satisfactory, and the initiation is complete. The assembly then proceed, with ceremonies equally dignified and impressive, to the promotion of the *Foxes* and *Burnt Foxes* of the last half year. The other grades of honor are passed into silently; the young Bursch becomes an Old Bursch, and a Mossy Head without farther inflictions.

But the features of German student-life, which have attracted most attention, and are perhaps the subject of most curiosity, are the duels, the sword-duel and the beer-duel; and of these we have here, what is, no doubt, a complete and accurate account. And first of the sword-duel. It is plain, that on the whole this may be regarded rather as an amusement and a trial of skill in fence, than in the usual light of a duel. "The Student," we are told, "seldom fights because he is insulted, but insults because he wishes to fight." Not unfrequently, it would appear, a challenge is given by

one Chore to another, the consequence of which is a number of duels equal to the whole number in the Chores, and this on very trifling cause; or merely to try their relative skill. Then again a single youth goes out of his lodgings, intent on engaging himself for a certain number of duels before he comes home. The regular process, as is probably known to most of our readers, is to violate some ordinary rule of civility, for instance to take the wrong side in passing, or (what may perhaps be considered a pretty wide departure from common rules) to tread on the toes of some unsuspecting wayfarer. On this the offended party demands what is meant; to which the duel-seeker rejoins, "What you please." And then there is no choice for the trod upon but to demand the other's name and address, and send a friend to declare to him, that he is a "stupid youth;" inviting him at the same time to one or more rounds of fencing as may be thought fit. Besides this term of "stupid youth," which less noble spirits and less devoted to the muses, might not perhaps think so deadly an offence, there is but one term of opprobrium worse, as appears from our book, which is "Infamen," or "Infamous fellow."

The matter is now announced to the Senior of the Chores, and the preliminaries for the duel arranged. To give a better idea of the danger incurred in common cases, we extract a description of the dress worn on such occasions.

"Some trifling changes take place in this from time to time, but it consists, substantially, of the following pieces. A lesser and a greater cap, according to circumstances hereafter noticed, and which can be made tighter or looser, but which is generally worn loose, so that the blows may take less effect. A tall cravat, which protects the throat, and commonly reaches up to the nose; but this is put on in the hall immediately before the fight commences. The binding of the arm is particularly important, that it may afford it the greatest possible protection, at the same time that it does not impede the action of the wrist and elbow. For this purpose is used a fine leather glove, bound round and secured to the wrist with a silken riband. This binding of the glove must be very carefully performed, so as to defend the sinews and arteries which abound here, as much as possible from injury. The hand is protected by the basket-hilt of the sword. The duellist takes the end of the riband, which secures the glove, in his hand until a similar one has been passed round the elbow. The *stulp*, a thick and well-quilted cover for

the arm, made of silk, is then drawn on, fitted down upon the glove, and being fastened there by the riband, which also secures the glove, and at the upper part of the arm by other ribands. Another bandage, called the axillary knot, has frequently also been brought under the shoulder to defend the axillary arteries from injury. The last piece of the duel-costume consists of the paukhosen, or duel-trousers. It is made of leather of uncommon thickness, and well stuffed, and comes up so as to form a sort of cuirass, though without iron, such as the soldiers of Columbus used to wear. High as it reaches, it yet leaves a good part of the breast uncovered. It is laced together behind by means of leathern thongs. A thicker glove is fastened to the paukhosen behind for the left hand, or should the duellist happen to be left-handed, for the right, to keep it out of the way during the fight. Before the combatant was thus attired, he had not only his coat, waistcoat, neckcloth, and braces taken off, but his shirt sleeve also slit up from the wrist to the shoulder, so as to give full freedom to the action of the arm; on which account a duel-shirt is frequently kept for the purpose, and put on before going to the place of contest."

"The most customary duel is that with twenty-four rounds and the small cap. Is it fought in the ordinary manner, that is, twenty-four rounds with a conclusive wound? then the duel is ended when a blow falls which is considered a conclusive one, namely, of two inches length, and deep — according to student phrase — to cut through the two skins. The duel of twenty-four rounds without conclusive wound proceeds thus. If a considerable hit is made, the doctor must decide whether the duel can proceed or not; in the latter case, the fight is continued, however, as soon as the wounded party is sufficiently restored, which in the twenty-four rounds with a conclusive stroke, as observed, cannot happen. In either kind of duel, however, it must terminate with the twenty-four rounds, though neither has lost blood. In this case, both the antagonists remain unconquered, and give their hands in reconciliation. When a wound is given, which in its own nature or by the rules of the duel proves decisive, the second of the wounded party puts an end to the contest with the words "Remove him!" Distinguished swordsmen generally fight the single round. In this case they fight for a quarter of an hour. The umpire stands with his watch in his hand, marks the pauses which are made for rest when the combatants become weary, and counts them off from the actual time of fighting. So long a time as has been consumed in resting, must the duel extend beyond the quarter. The sixth and last mode consists in fighting without coat, waistcoat, and cra-

vat, and without the usual defensive costume. This, of course, is the very worst species of all those which have been enumerated."

"By a round is understood the duration of a contest till one has planted an unparried blow on his antagonist; it may be on his person or only on his defensive paraphernalia: of such rounds twelve at least are made. The small cap indicates the ordinary cap which the student wears; and the large one, a cap with a very large front or shield. The theological students fight in the large cap, since a scar in the face would amount to a termination of their professional career."— pp. 140, 141, 142, 143.

When in addition to all this it is remembered, that each principal has a second, whose duty it is to stand at his right hand, and protect him as much as is possible without holding his rapier so as to prevent the blows of the antagonist from reaching him, and that those seconds are always the most experienced swordsmen of the Chore, it can be no matter of astonishment that these duels are so little dangerous, and so lightly entered into. To this, however, there are exceptions, and instances are not wanting where the result has been fatal.

But, it may be asked, how is this permitted? and are there no means taken to prevent it?

There are assuredly strict laws at every university against duels; but except in cases of dangerous duels, with the sword or crooked sabre, the punishment is nothing more than eight or fourteen days' imprisonment. In aggravated cases the punishment proceeds even to the worst kind of *relegation*. The seconds, umpires, spectators, are liable to the same punishment as the principals. But notwithstanding the activity of the beadles, though stimulated by considerable rewards if successful, the students easily contrive to escape detection, the duels being fought always within doors, and not unfrequently in private apartments. It is probable that more efficient means of suppressing them might be taken. It seems, however, that they are gradually diminishing of themselves, the number everywhere being much less than formerly; whilst in those universities which are situated in large cities they have almost ceased.

The beer-duel, as we understand from this book, has still more fallen into disuse. It is, however, the fact, that there are such duels amongst the German students, and that they have been common — even a prevailing feature in student-life. There is too, it seems, a distinct and quite extensive "beer-comment,"

which is here given at length. This code of laws is to be observed by the students at their drinking-houses, or *kneipen*. It points out very minutely the rights and duties of the Foxes, Burschen, etc., and affixes penalties to all violation of its rules. The challenge, it appears, is either to drink a certain quantity of beer together, which seems to be nothing more than an invitation to drink, the quantity being limited to four pints or choppins, and not less than half a pint; or to try which can drink most, the manner and the order of drinking being fixed by manifold regulations. This kind of duel, as was just observed, is becoming even less common than the sword-duel; it is to be feared that it may have been much more destructive of life and all that makes life valuable.

The volume before us contains accounts of various other customs of the students—their summer and winter amusements—excursions into the country, sleigh-rides, the comitat, or escort out of the town, when the student leaves the university, the students' funeral—but we prefer rather to extract the description of the student's room, both as giving a good specimen of the style of the work and the translation, and as combining most of the characteristic features of student-life.

“The student knows how to live here. He has fitted up his room very commodiously. The sleeping-room certainly is somewhat small; often, rather an alcove, in which, besides his bed, his wardrobe, his dressing-table, and a large trunk, there is little to be seen. But one might almost pronounce his sitting-room comfortable, were it not distinguished by rather too much of a lyrical disorder. Books, pipes, rapiers, clothes, coffee, and writing apparatus, are somewhat too little assorted; and the stove, standing in the room itself—but Germans in this respect know no better. Yet one must admit, that those little machines, which look like an adiaphory, between a Roman urn and a German beer-jug, and which one might take by the end of the long pipe and carry with one along the streets, are very well adapted to the needs of the student, who commonly only wiles away an hour at home, and then hastens again to the college, since they quickly warm the room, and as quickly let it cool again. They are readily made hot, so that you may easily when at full heat light your pipe at them.

“There are not wanting tables, chairs, a commode, a writing-table, and book-shelves, and a sofa that is pretty well used. Our host at first sight looked, to my fancy, somewhat Turkish, as at our morning visit he sat enjoying his pipe and coffee, in a

colored plaid morning gown and showy slippers. But the legs — no, they were not crossed in Turkish fashion, but stretched out at will from the sofa in true English style, and seemed to feel themselves very much at home in the room. He had a handkerchief thrown loosely round his neck, and the small, round, and embroidered cap sat not inelegantly on his head. These caps, as I learned in course of conversation, are termed *cerevis*, or beer-caps. What especially struck me in the apartment, were the various decorations which adorned the walls in gay rows, and the signification of which our host politely explained to me. Upon one wall was displayed a long line of profiles, all under glass, and in small gilt frames. A colored Chore-band falling from above, wound about them, and comprehended them, as it were, in one great family. 'These,' said he, 'are in memory of the friends who have contributed to embellish my six semesters at the university;' and I learned that it was the practice, especially of those who belonged to the same Chore, mutually to honor each other with those little likenesses.

" 'We have here,' said he, 'in Heidelberg, the Herr Münich, who executes these things in first-rate style, and derives almost a livelihood alone from this branch of business. It is the same in other places. I have already passed some time in Jena, Berlin, and Bonn, and have enjoyed the friendship of many a brave Bursche. There, you see the views of many a city through which I have travelled. They will to the latest hour yield me delightful recollections.' These, with the well-executed portraits of many professors, filled a second wall. Amongst them proudly displayed themselves several printed duplicates of the doctoral diplomas of his friends.

" 'And whose likeness is this which hangs in the midst?' I asked. 'That,' he replied, 'is the portrait of our famous Pawk-doctor, which cannot be wanting in any kneip.'

" 'On the third wall I beheld pipes of all forms and sizes, from the meerschäum to the clay pipe; and my polite host promised me, at the next opportunity, to give me a lecture, as he expressed it, on these articles of furniture. My eye was now caught by the garniture which I beheld about the looking-glass. It was hung round with ribands of various colors, and above it appeared the remains of garlands. As I noticed them my host said — 'See, those are flowers out of the mourning garlands, which deck many a departed friend who sleeps in the cool earth; which we carefully preserve.'

" 'And the ribands with the many inscriptions and the dates?' I asked. 'Those,' said he, 'are my Chore-brothers; and the date indicates the foundation-day of our *Verbindung*.'

“On the fourth wall were to be seen a *Schläger* [fencing-foil] with the chore-colors; a chore-cap and a guitar, with several colored rosettes. There stood also a little table, and upon it apparatus for drinking and smoking; a large *Deckel-glass* with a lid, having upon it an engraved inscription, ‘*Traumansdorf to his Freisleben, 18th July, 1838;*’ an elegant little casket with tobacco, a spill-vase, a study lamp, a vessel denominated the *Pope*, to receive the ashes of the tobacco on emptying the pipe, and an incombustible spill, or *Fidebus*, a new discovery, and certainly one of the most useful of the nineteenth century.”—pp. 164, 165, 166.

But what becomes of the studies of the student all this time, it may be asked, and when and how does he lay the foundation of that immense learning for which the Germans are distinguished? It must be remembered, that all the time the student has been engaged in these various absurdities, he has not failed regularly to attend lectures, writing down with the greatest care every word that falls from the Professor. The exceptions to this rule are very few. Some there no doubt are; and many of the students pass their three years at the university with little profit, except what they thus get; still the number is small compared to the whole. It is probable, that in a student population of one thousand, all the noise and display is made by some one to two hundred; the rest being diligent students. Indeed they must study at some time, for the dreaded examination awaits them. It is usual to devote the last few months, or half-year of their stay, to the review of the manuscript notes they have taken at the lectures. The passage, in which this is spoken of in the book, forms a somewhat amusing contrast with the foregoing description of the student’s room.

“If the student always so lived, as during the whole last year or half-year of his university-life, we might have been spared the labor of writing the tenth and other chapters of our volume. There he sits now, in his solitary little room. Instead of frolicsome brothers, the old folios surround him; he has even forgot the *Commersing*, and instead of that he sips his cup of coffee, in order again to revive the exhausted spirit of his life. His duelling wrath is directed against the flies that disturb him in his studies, and his pipe is the only friend that cheers his spirit in his solitude.

“Students, who have lived jovially, are accustomed to denote
VOL. XXXII. — 3D. S. VOL. XIV. NO. I. 11

that they have arrived at this melancholy termination of their campaign, by exchanging the cap for the Philistine hat, and their cronies are reasonable enough then to perceive, that nobody may disturb them in these their arduous exertions, as, indeed, the Burschen-life cannot last for ever. After these glorious exertions, the son of the Muses plunges boldly into the doctoral examination. This is partly made in writing, partly orally, and is conducted under the superintendence of the Dean, who also selects the questions, to which the youth under examination, isolated in a room of the Dean's house, gives his answers. The examination is seldom closed under a week; after which he receives, as its results, from the examining professors of the faculty, one of the usual degrees of the university, unless his acquirements have been so indifferent, that his evil-star, as the students say, has caused him to fall through."—pp. 402, 403.

Such are the prominent features of the student's life as described in the work before us. There are several interesting episodes scattered here and there, such as an account of Sand, and the consequences of his crime; and some amusing histories of renowned characters amongst the students.

An entire chapter is devoted to the history of the Burschenschaft, an institution which for various reasons deserves our notice. Its origin is here traced back as far as to the first occupation of Germany by the French, when the sense of national dishonor is described as rousing the German youth from their trivial student's life, and leading them to form one great union for the deliverance of their country. But though such a spirit was undoubtedly awakened amongst the students, so that they stood ready at the first cry of liberty to rush forth to take arms against the usurper, the origin of the Burschenschaft is usually ascribed to the period immediately following their return from the campaign with the allied armies, when, their minds matured, and their views enlarged by the actual experience of life, they could not but see the absurdities of their student practices, whilst a strong love of country seemed to swallow up almost every other feeling. But whenever we date its origin, the Burschenschaft originated in noble and worthy feelings. It was animated by a manly and patriotic spirit, and however it may afterwards have justly laid itself open to the charge of revolutionary designs, at first it had only at heart the good of Fatherland. The sovereigns of Germany had, in the

first enthusiasm of gratitude for their deliverance from a common foe, made promises to the people of constitutions and representative government, which on reflection they were slow to perform. This begot discontent, and the youth at the universities, full of their new notions of liberty, were perhaps the foremost in this almost general dissatisfaction. How far they went in their secret designs, it is difficult to say; but it is certain, that they were accused of meditating nothing less than the overthrow of the existing government, and the bringing of all Germany under one general constitution. The governments became alarmed, and imprisoned many of their leaders, who in the end were glad to escape from their native country, so that Germany lost some of its noblest spirits, to the great gain of our own and other lands. It is very much to be regretted, however, for the sake of the German universities, that the Burschenschaft could not have kept clear of any such suspicions, retaining the manly, patriotic spirit by which it was distinguished. The following are some of its principles, in which there is certainly nothing to be discovered treasonable, or deserving of punishment.

“ ‘In the German Fatherland we will live and move. We will perish with it, or die free in it, if God’s great call ordain. Live the German speech for ever! Flourish the true chivalry! Let Germany be free!’

“ ‘He who avows these ideas, and is willing to contend for their advancement is our beloved brother. To accomplish these high endeavors, there must be a universal free Burschenschaft throughout all Germany.’

“ ‘There can no salvation come to our beloved Germany, unless through such a free and universal Burschenschaft, in which Germany’s noblest youth continues intimately fraternized, in which every one learns to know his duty — and which Burschenschaft shall always find the Gymnastic schools its defence and alarm-post.

“ ‘We will never apply the word Fatherland to that state in which we were born; Germany is our Fatherland; the state in which we were born is our Home.

“ ‘We will hold these principles firmly and honorably; spread them by every possible means; and with all our power, now as youths, and hereafter as men, labor to bring them into exercise.

“ ‘When we quit the High School, and are invested with any office, be it high or low, we will fulfil the same honorably, true

to Prince and Fatherland, and 'in such a manner administer it as shall be in accordance with the spirit of these principles.

“‘The law of the people shall be the will of the Prince. Liberty and Equality are the highest good, after which we have to strive, and from which strife no pious and honest German can ever desist.

“‘Every student who maintains honor and virtue, shall be a free German Bursche; subject to no one; inferior to no one; all shall be equal, obeying only the laws.’”— pp. 76, 77.

In the Burschenschaft duels were prohibited, there were no distinctions of ages, but a universal equality. It is still, we understand, carefully discouraged and watched against by the various governments, and the students have returned to their old absurdities. Still, as we have had occasion more than once to intimate, these are fast dying out of themselves. In the universities which are situated in large cities, particularly at Berlin, which we suppose at this moment holds the first rank amongst German universities, they are almost extinct. And at the same time it is observed, (the work before us to the contrary notwithstanding,) that in such universities the standard of learning is higher, and the general proficiency greater than elsewhere. How indeed could it be otherwise! The author of this book attempts in a true student spirit to show the good effects of wasting the first half year (as he admits usually is done) in drinking and duels,—“a period of rest,” he says, “in which, from an undisturbed point of view, he can look back into the past; can there weigh what he has so far accomplished; can look forward, and acquire a clear consciousness of his future purposes, and can gather strength for the necessary enterprise.” A fine opportunity, indeed, for this calm contemplation, at the fencing-school, and in the beer-kneipe! It is fortunate that the far-off examination extends its threads back to the very first half year, and so through the whole course, or many a poor youth would be lost in the labyrinth of this student-life. It is well that the habits of industry are often so firmly fixed at the Gymnasia, that a disorderly life soon becomes unsatisfactory. The great secret of German education is the steady, unbroken progress from first to last. The only break has been in going from the gymnasium to the university. When this shall no longer be, it may truly be asserted, as is asserted in this book, that in education Germany sets an example to the world.

It appears, too, that there is another influence at work, which will help in no small degree to do away with these disorders of student-life, namely, the increasing number and importance of the Real or Polytechnic schools. These institutions are in Germany the growth of later times, and the right has not yet been extended to them, which students coming from a Gymnasium enjoy, of admittance to the university on producing a certificate of having matured their studies at the school. This, it seems, is called the exemption and maturity right. We have lately seen a statement, taken from the last edition of the *Conversations Lexicon*, from which it appears, that the number of students in the German universities has diminished in the last ten years nearly one third. And this diminution, it is remarkable, is almost all in the departments of Law and Theology. In 1830, the number of Law students in all the German universities was 3215—in 1840, 2543. Of Theological students in 1830, 3659—in 1840, 2159—making a decrease of 1500 in ten years. The students in medicine had increased in the same period from 1839 to 1900, and those in the general sciences, engineering, mining, natural history, agriculture, from 1426 to 1774. In the progress of the Real schools we see in part the explanation of this phenomenon. Of course it must debar the pupils of these schools from the university, if after finishing their course they must go to the Gymnasium to get a certificate of having gone through their studies there. And in the existence of another road to the offices and trusts of life, we see a new diligence in the students, and increased vigilance on the part of the governments of the universities. And even should the interdict be withdrawn, and the same right be allowed to the Real schools as to the Gymnasia, which we understand to be just now a subject of discussion, and which seems to be but common justice, we should not look to find the same spirit in the young men who come from these newer establishments. The Gymnasia have always been the nurseries of students in every sense. There they begin their smoking and drinking. The Frog (the *Gymnasiest*) is the father of the Fox. We are glad to hail in these Polytechnic schools the spirit of the time, the dawning light before which these absurdities of student-life—these goblins of the dark ages—will vanish.

ART. VI. — *An Inquiry into the Foundation, Evidences, and Truths of Religion*. By HENRY WARE, D. D., late Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College. Cambridge: John Owen. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 330 and 311.

"THESE volumes," as the reader is informed in a brief notice accompanying them, "are selected chiefly from the manuscripts, which constituted a part of one of the series of discourses delivered by the author in the Chapel of Harvard College, while he was Professor of Divinity in that institution." The title is truly descriptive of the contents of the volumes. And they, who, as the sons of Harvard, have partaken with ourselves of the benefit of the instructions, of which this work may, we suppose, be regarded as the substance, will not fail to recognise throughout its pages the candor, impartiality, faithfulness of investigation, and absolute freedom from dogmatism, which eminently distinguished the teachings of the venerable writer, and commanded the confidence even of those most widely differing in their religious speculations.

Dr. Ware entered upon the duties of his Professorship in May, 1805, as successor of the amiable and evangelic Dr. Tappan. He continued in the full discharge of his office for nearly thirty-five years—a term of service unusual in any calling, commenced as was his after a ministry of half that period, and unprecedented with only one exception in the annals of the College from its foundation; * the elder Dr. Wigglesworth, who first occupied that theological chair, having been inducted as the Professor soon after its establishment by Mr. Hollis in 1722, and having died in 1765.

"About six years ago," as is expressed in the same notice, "the author's sight began gradually to fail, which made it

* In strict accuracy we should add two exceptions to that of Professor Wigglesworth, whose term of office exceeded forty-two years. Judah Monis, a converted Jew, and known by his Christian charity as the founder of a small fund for the benefit of widows of deceased clergymen, was Teacher of Hebrew for nearly the same period, and Henry Flynt was Tutor during the space of fifty-five years. Besides these, no President or Instructor in the University has continued so long in the duties of his place as has the author of these volumes.

necessary for him to withdraw by degrees, and at length wholly from the duties of his office." We confess we cannot read the concluding sentence of this simple preface, connecting it as we do, and as the pupils and friends of Harvard *must*, with the remembrance of his many and honorable labors, without something like filial emotion; nor may we wholly repress the expression of our hopes, that in the retirement he has sought, he may long continue with the sustaining recollections of a useful life, and the consolations of the religion he has both illustrated and exemplified.

The topics of these volumes will be found to embrace the most interesting and important subjects of religion, natural and revealed, arranged in a just method and presented with great clearness and distinctness. The meaning and importance of religion itself; the nature and degree of the evidence we are authorized to expect in its support; the sources whence these evidences are derived, and by which religious faith is to be established; the being, perfections, and providence of God; the causes of natural and moral evil, and their consistency with a divine and gracious moral government; the great doctrines of retribution and the future life; the state of morals in the Hea-then world, and the obligations of morality itself, — and these, as exhibited only by the light of nature, are the subjects of the first volume; while the necessity, proofs internal and historical, doctrines, and precepts of revelation, under both the Mosaic and Christian systems; more particularly the mediation, person, and offices of Jesus Christ; the state from which he saves us; the nature of the probation in which his religion places us, the destiny to which it calls us, and the duties thence resulting, occupy the second.

On the inquiry, "with what evidence ought we to be satisfied on the subject of religion," with which the work is fitly introduced, we find many valuable thoughts. "The inquiry itself," as the writer remarks, "is of more practical importance, than is generally apprehended, because men are skeptical on the subject of religion, not for want of sufficient evidence, but because they have not considered what kind of proof the subject admits of, and what degree ought to satisfy a fair inquirer." And having showed, that religion in general, and Christianity in particular, is offered to us only upon the ground of moral evidence, and from its very nature *can* be offered to us upon no other ground, he appeals to the conduct of men in the

ordinary pursuits of life. We should gladly quote largely from this part of the work ; but selecting only the following, we commend the whole chapter to the consideration of all those — and the number we fear is not small — who, willing upon everything affecting their temporal interests to act upon very imperfect testimony, and often too upon remote probabilities, allow themselves in the most unreasonable demands, whenever the truths of religion are concerned ; and in a strange inconsistency with their own principles and course upon other subjects, history, philosophy, and the whole business of life, from an obstinacy, that chooses to be blind, from an affectation of superior discernment, require something more than satisfies common minds ; and frequently, too, from what the apostle significantly calls, “an evil heart of unbelief,” reject the evidences of religion, clear and various as they are, because they do not amount to absolute demonstration.

“ With respect to other truths, which are most firmly believed, and upon the faith of which we feel ourselves fully authorized to act, where even great interests are depending ; how few are supported, or are capable of being supported by any other, than moral evidence ? They have not the testimony of our senses ; they are not subjected to the infallible test of consciousness ; are not susceptible of demonstration. They rest upon human testimony, which, though it may mistake or intentionally deceive, is yet deemed a reasonable ground of faith, where evidence of a different kind is not to be obtained. Or they are grounded upon presumptions, which have singly but little force ; the strength of which may be indefinitely increased by multiplication ; yet can never be so multiplied, as not to be capable of deriving further strength, by being still further multiplied ; or they are inferences drawn from repetitions of observation and experience, which it is plain can never be so often repeated, that further repetition shall not serve still to strengthen the conclusion. Yet for most of the truths, which we receive with unhesitating confidence, we have, and can have, no better grounds of evidence, than one or the other of these, which have been stated.”— Vol. I. pp. 30, 31.

“ In what manner, again, are we accustomed to seek and secure our worldly interest ; and upon what kind of evidence are we willing, and do we think it safe to rely, in pursuing it ? That we have any interest in all that is before us, is neither intuitively certain, nor capable of demonstration. We learn, that we have such an interest depending, by a course of moral

reasoning. It is an induction from several particular things. It is an inference from our own past experience, and from the observation and experience of others. Hence our expectations of the future, and our provisions for it. Our foresight is the result of calculations from the past, and is more or less perfect, according to the extent of our inquiries, and the care and fidelity with which they have been conducted. Upon such information is all the business of the world conducted, and all its interests are pursued."—p. 34.

"The merchant, relying on human testimony, ventures his property abroad, sends it to distant countries, which he has never visited, and exposes it, and his person also, to winds and seas, the character of which he has learned not from his own personal observation, but from the declarations of others. He is not afraid to put at risk all that he most values,—not his property only, but his safety, his liberty, even his earthly being; in the confidence, that he shall find the elements upon which he depends to transport him, such as they have been described; and that the countries which he shall visit, and their climates, the men that inhabit them, and their customs, manners, languages, wants, and dispositions, will answer to what he has been told respecting them."—p. 35.

And after copious illustration from the various callings and interests of life, he observes,—

"We see then the reasonableness and the utility of religion being placed on the ground of moral evidence. More than this also appears. So far as religion consists in a moral probation, it is clear that its very existence depends on this, since it must be wholly destroyed by that, which should make it cease to be a moral trial. But is it not evident, that it must wholly cease to be a moral trial, were its evidence absolutely irresistible? All trial depends on supposed uncertainty of some kind, either as to the evidence of truth or duty, its nature, its obligation, or its consequences. Where there is no room for an unfaithful mind to raise a doubt, there can be no test of its faithfulness. No man ever cast himself from a precipice to prove his disbelief of the existence of the material world; and no man ever felt indifferent about the condition of to-morrow, because he doubted whether, if he then continued to exist, he should have any interest in it.

"In the concerns of the present life, it is the degree of contingency, which we find in almost everything, that gives room for the faculties to be exerted, and lays the foundation of all that difference of character, which consists in wisdom and folly;

in a prudent attention to present interest, and careless neglect of it. Let there be in all things, as there is in some, absolute certainty, and none of this trial could exist, and none of this development of character take place.

"So also in religion. Let there be absolute certainty,—let evidence be irresistible,—let there be no possibility for negligence and carelessness to mistake or be deceived, nor for a dishonest mind to deceive itself; and where would be the test of obedience, where the trial of virtue, where the manifestation of character?"—pp. 40, 41.

"So far as religion is a discipline of virtue, and a moral trial; its design being to form a character of moral excellence, and to prove it; so far the means which it employs, the evidence upon which it rests, the manner in which it is proposed, and the sanctions which it applies, must all be such, in their nature and circumstances, as to consist with freedom of choice; such as to make the character and course of life, not a matter of coercion but of free and deliberate preference; such, in fine, as shall bend the will and guide the heart, establish the principle and form the temper; so that the external act and the habit of life shall be but the development and outward expression of what is formed within."—pp. 41, 42.

In the chapters on the perfections and attributes of the Deity, there is much close and impartial reasoning united with practical, and not seldom eloquent reflection. The plan of the work demanded brevity; but we do not see that it has been pursued at the expense of essential omissions. As our purpose is chiefly to give our readers the opportunity of judging of it for themselves, we select a few sentences from those on the divine wisdom and power.

"Are there circumstances in the operations of nature which seem to be exceptions to the character of the general plan, apparently adverse and defeating the purposes of wisdom? There are very few which are not already, and none probably which will not sometime hereafter, be found either resolvable into general laws, which are on the whole salutary, or answering some useful purpose, for which there is no other provision. Or the effect, which we view as an evil or a deformity, may be actually a necessary and important part of the general system. The fire, that we apply to so many important uses, is a wise and necessary provision, notwithstanding its occasional destructive effects, in laying waste our dwellings, and consuming our property.

"The tornado that uproots a forest, and the lightning and tempest that overwhelm a fleet, have at the same time perhaps prevented a pestilence. And the pestilence itself, which, unprevented, spreads desolation through a country, and carries with it dismay and terror, serves also to rouse to reflection, and reclaim to sobriety and virtue, a thoughtless and profligate race. So that the very things, which with partial and imperfect views we considered as blemishes in the works of God, and obstacles in the way of his designs, we find to be the instruments he is employing, and the best he could employ to accomplish them." — pp. 147, 148.

And in the succeeding chapter on *power*.

"By almighty power we mean that, which can produce every kind of effect in every possible degree. It is that which is neither controlled by any superior power, nor limited by any deficiency in itself. Finite powers are limited in both of these ways, — infinite in neither.

"It is not, however, to be understood, that nothing is impossible to almighty power. There are impossibilities in the nature of things, which no power can overcome, and which it is no derogation from the power of the Almighty to say, that even that power cannot perform. We do not deny almighty power to God, when we deny him the power of working an absolute impossibility. Propositions, implying absolute contradiction, are natural impossibilities; and the wildest absurdity follows from asserting them, as some from the best motives, and others from the worst, have done, to be the objects of omnipotence, — claiming as the prerogative of almighty power, that of doing what is not an object of power.

"It may be proper, however, to observe, that this is distinct from the question respecting the power to perform a miracle. A supernatural event admits of a clear distinction from an impossible one. A miracle has relation, not to the nature of things, but to an established course of nature, which course of nature the power, which first established, may at any time suspend, or alter, or violate. No one, who believes that God appointed the motions of the heavenly bodies, can doubt his power to suspend or alter them.

"In the actual exercise of the divine power there may also be restrictions of a moral nature; but those have nothing to do with the present question." — pp. 158, 159.

Again, we are forcibly impressed by the following sentences, which intimate enough, we should think, at once to rebuke the vanity of human beauty, seeing that it shares the materials of

which it is made with the least attractive of all his creatures, and to awaken a devout admiration of the omnipotence of God.

“Improvement in science, and discoveries in the knowledge of nature, have opened to us other views of the wonderful power of the Former of all things. With what admiration are we struck, when we reflect on the very small number of elements, the few earths, salts, metals, and gases, of which all material substances are composed, and into which they may be resolved. How are we struck with surprise, when we think that the fairest human form consists of the same elements, scarcely differing in their several proportions, and only varying in the manner of their combination, from those that constitute the ugliest beast or the most loathsome reptile! That the tree which grows in the pasture, the grass that springs up at its root, the bird that sings in its branches, and the lamb that sports in its shade, are all made of the same materials, and, when reduced to their respective elements, scarcely vary from each other even in the proportion of the several elements into which they are respectively resolved. How shall we think or speak of that power which has thus, from a small number of original elements, produced all that we see in the endless variety of form and of properties in the objects of nature! How shall we especially conceive of that power which first gave existence to these elements themselves, and made them capable of such an infinite variety of form, proportion, and mutual relation, and of properties and powers for all the purposes and uses to which they are applied!”—pp. 162, 163.

The consideration of the divine benevolence and mercy, as exhibited in the diffusion of happiness, in the relief of suffering, and the remission of punishment, involves the discussion of another topic, offering apparent exceptions to these attributes, and without some reference to which any view we can take of God's goodness must be incomplete. The writer has therefore devoted two chapters to the inquiry upon natural and moral evil; topics which, as is well known, from one generation to another of mankind, have exercised the acutest minds, and given birth to the best and the worst possible speculations. It were in vain to number those who have attempted to explain the difficulty, and still more to expose the crude theories and presumptuous fancies, which either for good or for evil, by the devout inquirer or the arrogant skeptic, have been vented

upon this theme. From the days of Zoroaster and the Persian Magi, of Plato, Lucretius, and Manes, down to Archbishop King, Dr. Samuel Clarke, and Francis Hutcheson, what has not been conceived and uttered upon this most perplexing of topics? Soame Jenyns, though not in intellectual power to be named with these illustrious worthies, doubtless meant well when he essayed the theme. But if we judge of his "Free Enquiry" by Dr. Johnson's Review, which he never forgave, we shall see the vast difference in the treatment of such topics between right intention and wise performance; and that possibly the "freedom may exceed the modesty." His merit, therefore, confessedly cannot be small, who, with all the difficulties of the subject, at once enlightens and persuades. In no part of the volumes before us have we found more satisfaction than in this; and none in which the acuteness, judgment, and ability of their author are more manifest. Within a few pages is condensed the substance of many treatises. We cannot do better justice to the work, and we are well assured that we can do nothing more profitable or acceptable to our readers, than by laying before them some extracts.

"That suffering in any degree should make part of the plan of a benevolent being, who has nothing above or without himself to limit, restrain, or prevent him from effecting whatever he wills, is what we may never hope to be able with our imperfect faculties so to understand and explain, that the subject shall be pressed with no remaining difficulty. Some considerations, however, may be suggested, which, if they give not entire satisfaction, will remove some part of the objection, lessen the force of what remains, and show that the whole may admit of a satisfactory solution, though for want of more extensive views, it be not in our power to see in what manner.

"In the first place, then, a large proportion of natural evils are evils of imperfection; that is, are the necessary effects of the limitation of our nature and powers. These, it is obvious, are to be laid out of the case, since they belong to our condition as finite beings, and must remain so long as we are anything short of infinite. We are impatient of the feebleness of our faculties, the narrow bounds of our knowledge, the error and uncertainty to which we are liable. Our activity is confined, our strength is limited, our power of motion can be exerted only in a certain way, and to a certain degree.

"But if with these circumstances of restriction we are dissatisfied, should we be less so with any enlargement of our

powers, while they remained limited at all? Had we the strength of the elephant, and the swiftness of the bird of passage, that we could visit distant regions without the tardiness and weariness to which human travel is subjected, the complaint would still remain, and still might we ask, why have we not the power to remove mountains? and why are we bound to this narrow sphere of motion, why confined to earth, why not allowed to visit other worlds, and other systems? And were our intellectual capacities enlarged to any assignable degree, short of infinite perfection, the question, why are they not larger, why has infinite goodness thus stinted us, might be asked, with the same degree of pertinence, as the same question is asked, in the present degree of their limitation." — pp. 186, 187.

"Again, the complaint of imperfection, as an evil, goes on the absurd, and I may add, contradictory notion, that benevolence in an infinite being requires the production of the greatest possible good; that is, that infinite power exhaust itself. But if it does all that it can do, if it produces the greatest effect of which it is capable, it is limited, it has bounds beyond which it cannot pass; then it is finite. The very idea of infinite power and infinite goodness is, that, whatever effects it produces, it can still produce other and greater.

"One further remark seems proper to be made on that imperfection, which is the result of the diversity there is in the creation. It furnishes one of the purest and noblest sources of happiness, for which, without it, there could be no opportunity. Were all beings, as the objection would have it, of the same order, with the same powers, and in the same condition; equally perfect and happy in the same degree and manner; there could be no scope for beneficence, no room for participating in that part of the creator's happiness, which consists in communicating good; of course none for the exercise of kindness on the one part, and of gratitude on the other; none for the mutual interchange of good offices and good dispositions." — pp. 188, 189.

"We may observe, thirdly, that some of the evils that afflict us, though real evils to a certain extent, are yet blessings, when considered as salutary cautions to prevent our falling into still greater evils. We may instance, as belonging to this description, bodily pain. This is kindly appointed to warn us of danger, and to guard against mischief. But for the pain of hunger, how liable should we be to perish for want of that friendly notice? And but for the pain of repletion, how many would

indulge their appetite to the destruction of health and life? Were there no pain in burning, what would save us in thousands of cases from becoming victims to the devouring element, before we had notice of our danger? Were there no suffering in bodily disease, how long might it lurk in our system, flow in our circulations, fatally strengthen itself, and undermine the powers of life, before we were aware of our danger? The suffering of incipient disease is our friendly monitor to check intemperance and voluptuousness before they prove destructive.

"The host of mental troubles have also the same friendly office, — disgust, vexation, grief, shame, remorse. These are often severe sufferings, evils that we would gladly dispense with; but they are useful, salutary, friendly notices, to remind us of faults to be corrected, or warn us of evils to be shunned. They are the kind appointment of benevolence, not the infliction of vengeance; and their ultimate design and tendency may be seen to be eventual improvement and happiness by means of temporary and disciplinary suffering." — pp. 190, 191.

Thus far reasons the author upon some of the varied forms of natural evil; and in relation to these and to many others, he adds, that pain and suffering are the necessary consequence of an organization, and of faculties, by which we are capable of pleasure; that they are the same senses that are the instruments of agreeable and of painful sensations; that what is true of the external is equally true of our internal organization; the same faculties, the same affections are the sources alike of our pains and pleasures; that we are susceptible of shame only in proportion to our sense of honor and praise; that resentment or disgust under a sense of wrong is from the same moral temperament that makes us capable of gratitude and love; that our domestic comforts and domestic griefs all grow on the same stock; that our liability to the one cannot be separated from our enjoyment of the other; so that if we would be happy in our families and our friends, we must be willing to submit to the sorrows of bereavement. And, finally, as to the last and greatest evil to which our nature is exposed, and which we all dread, it is manifest that it is inseparable from some greater good, not otherwise to be obtained. Without death there could not be life. "The world," concludes he, "could be peopled by a succession of beings only by means of death. Mortality is implied in it. One generation *must* pass away as another cometh. That the world may not be soon over-

stocked with inhabitants, death must intervene to remove the succession of generations."

On the great subject of moral evil, having stated what can never be overlooked in any just view of the subject, "that it takes place by the same constitution of our nature, by which we are free and accountable beings; that it could not have been prevented but by depriving man of his moral agency," in other words making him incapable of virtue, the writer observes,

"The question, then, will be reduced to this,—whether the goodness of God would have been better manifested, had there been no beings created, that were endued with the powers of moral agency. This will hardly be maintained or imagined by any. In the gradation of being, as we rise through the several stages of vegetable, animal, intellectual, and moral life, there is a correspondent gradation in the power and goodness manifested in their production. The beings of each higher order have a higher sphere of action, have more and nobler sources of enjoyment, and present higher proofs both of the power and of the benevolence of Him, who has thus made and endued them. That they have in any degree abused or neglected the privileges of their nature, will hardly be thought to cancel the obligation of the gift, or to show that it was not in itself a blessing. If we have abused our moral liberty, it lessens not the kindness that granted it to us." — pp. 195, 196.

Of the weighty and instructive considerations that follow, we can select only these:

"The indications of the divine disapprobation of moral evil are neither few nor equivocal. Nothing indeed can be more distinct and decisive, than the expressions of the displeasure of Almighty God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. This will appear in the provision he has made in the constitution of nature, in the first place for its prevention, and in the second for its punishment." — p. 199.

Once more:

"As an indication of the will and disposition of our Maker, it is not an unimportant consideration, that there is nothing in our constitution whose original design and tendency is to moral evil. Not a single appetite, or passion, or principle in our nature has vice for its direct object, or leads to it by a necessary and unavoidable tendency. Many of the worst passions of the

human heart are the excess only, or the perversion and abuse of those, which in their original design and natural tendency are good. The qualities of our nature, which enter into the characters of the worst men, are the same that are found in those of exalted worth, and are even the basis and the germ of their virtues. We have here then another provision in the constitution of things in favor of virtue and for the prevention of moral evil, and another unequivocal notice, as moral evil is the direct object and original design of nothing in our nature or our condition, that its existence is not to be attributed to a defect of goodness in the author of nature." — p. 200.

The subjects of the second volume, as has been seen, belong exclusively to those of revealed religion. The copious extracts already drawn from the first, and our narrowing limits, permit only a very cursory reference to a few of them. And passing at once from the more general topics, that precede, to the *Inquiry on Miracles*, we find illustrated an important point of difference between the miracles of Moses and those of Christ, deserving attention, and which has not been often exhibited.

"The miracles of our Lord and his apostles were exhibited, neither before those who were previously prepared to receive them on a slight examination, nor by those who had the power to check the impertinence of a skeptical curiosity, and silence by authority the cavils of unbelief. They were not to countenance, but to overthrow, the established doctrines, and prevailing opinions. The witnesses of those miracles were converts to his religion, which those very miracles had converted. And they were converts, not to a triumphant but to a suffering sect; not to a party, which could promote their interests, or gratify their ambition; but to one which compelled them to abandon their favorite notions, and to resign every worldly prospect of interest and ambition.

"This important point of difference between the Christian miracles and all others cannot be too attentively considered. The former were performed for the purpose of introducing a new religion, and establishing the divine mission of its founder; the latter were always pretended in support of a system or a sect already in power. The former ceased at the very time, when, having established the credit of the religion and its founder, it would have been in the power of the teachers of it to impose them on the world without the danger of detection; the latter

then only ventured the pretence of miracles, when the popular prejudice and the civil power were already enlisted in their cause.

"Now that institutions already established should pretend to have their divine origin and authority confirmed by miracles, when they have already the support of popular belief, and their leaders are held in popular veneration, and when political and religious interests have become closely united, is by no means surprising. It is easy to see, that under such circumstances, they might be accompanied with such kind and degree of historical evidence, as it might be difficult to invalidate.

"But for a few men, without power, without learning, without wealth, to introduce a new faith and new institutions; and without any of the political advantages mentioned in the other case, to procure its reception on the particular evidence of miracles, is an entirely different thing. And this is a fact peculiar to the Christian religion.

"We return then with confidence to the point from which we set out; and assert the completeness of the evidence, by which those mighty works are established, to which Jesus appeals as the proof of his divine mission, and which are the ground upon which we acknowledge and commemorate him as our Master and our Saviour. 'The works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works which I do bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me.' " — Vol. II. pp. 129, 130.

For the views of the late Hollis Professor on some of the peculiar doctrines of Christian Theology, such as the person and mediation of Jesus Christ; of man's probation and his need of repentance and conversion; of the regeneration of the soul, and of human agency as connected with spiritual influence, we can only refer our readers to the pages in which they are treated. Some may find more, and some undoubtedly will find less, upon these controverted points, than they may be disposed to admit into their own creed. But we think no one, upon an impartial survey of these volumes, will be willing to deny to the author the merit of the qualities at once most essential and graceful in an instructor of youth and a professor of Christian Theology.

Dr. Watson, the celebrated Bishop of Landaff, tells us in the memoirs of his own life, that the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge,—a dignity which he held for its emoluments many years after he had ceased to per-

form its duties,* — was called among the gowns-men, by way of pleasantry, "*Malleus Hæreticorum*," it being counted his peculiar province "to demolish every opinion which militated against what is called the orthodoxy of the Church of England." The Bishop rejects this title, and maintains the honor of his well known catholicism, and hatred of intolerance. What, with some characteristic self-gratulation, he vindicates for himself, may be confidently claimed by another for the late Hollis Professor. Not with the "*Malleus Hæreticorum*," nor with any other weapon after its similitude, did he think to prosecute error or to establish truth. The congeniality of his temper with his creed, and his honest search for truth, with his meekness of wisdom in maintaining it, were seen of all.

When we remember, as many of our readers may, the keen and bitter opposition which was urged against Dr. Ware's election to the Professorship, which he has recently resigned,† and the forebodings so mournfully uttered, when he accepted it, for the cause of religion, for the interests of the College, and most of all for the spiritual welfare of its youth; when we consider the divisions in our religious community, of which that election may be justly regarded as among the primary causes, and, that of those who were the most vehement of his opposers, and trembled, or thought they trembled, most fearfully for the result, by far the greater part have gone to their rest, while the object of all their dread, after an interval now of almost forty years, still lives, and the walls of Harvard still stand, and our churches flourish and are at peace, — we are constrained to reflect for a little on the vanity of human fears, and the worse than vanity of theological strife. Were it possible to believe

* That we may not be guilty of injustice to the name of a learned and catholic divine, who has done much by his writings and his life for the interests of religious freedom, we must add, that Bishop Watson, with the permission of the governors of the University, employed a substitute to perform the duties of his professorship; residing, however, himself at a distance of two hundred miles from Cambridge, among the lakes of Westmoreland, and reserving to himself fully two-thirds of the income of his professorship. It is somewhat remarkable, that one, who fought so valiantly as did he against pluralities, should for a large portion of his long life hold at once a Bishopric, a Deanery, the most lucrative professorship in his University, and a Rectory.

† Dr. Ware resigned his professorship in 1840, but the government of the College, as in the like instance of the younger Professor Wigglesworth, constituted him at once Professor Emeritus.

that repentance could find place in heaven, it might, we think, be an occasion of grief to many an enlightened and purified spirit there, to remember the errors of a too fervent zeal on earth; nor can we doubt, that they will rejoice to meet in that house of many mansions, and of a boundless charity, some whom ignorantly they had distrusted and traduced as the enemies of truth.

Before closing this imperfect notice, we must take leave to say a word upon a subject nearly connected with it, and pressing earnestly upon the attention of the friends of the University. We refer to the wants and prospects of our Theological School, and to the supply of stated religious instruction within the chapel of the University.

It is well known, or might be, since it has once and again been distinctly stated, that the funds of the Divinity foundation, as provided by Mr. Hollis, like most other of the older foundations of the College, are totally inadequate to the support of the Professor; never having yielded more than a fifth part of what for many years has been the smallest salary of that responsible office. The supply of the residue, seldom less, we believe, than twelve hundred dollars, with similar demands for the deficiency of other foundations, having drawn too largely upon the general funds of the College, the Corporation, upon the resignation of Dr. Ware, deemed it expedient to defer the appointment of a successor. There is now, therefore, no Professor of Divinity, or religious teacher, strictly so considered, within the College; and the whole burden of the religious instruction, both of the College and of the Theological School, including with all the peculiar and multifarious duties of the latter, the daily morning and evening prayers, the Sabbath services of the chapel, (with the aid for a quarter of the academic year of the Professor of Moral Philosophy,) and the lectures or recitations of the various classes of the former, rests wholly on those who by their office belong exclusively to the Divinity School. It is needless to enter into the details of these duties; but it must be obvious to the most superficial consideration, that the fulfilment of them, with even any tolerable degree of satisfaction to themselves or of benefit to the institution, must be far beyond the powers, physical or mental, of any two individuals, however gifted, however faithful or devoted. In the mean time, the students of the College greatly

need, and surely should receive, the benefits of more immediate, and, we should add, more personal religious influence, than it is within the limits of possibility for gentlemen thus tasked, thus distracted by various and complicate labors, to supply. Nor should it be overlooked, that the families of gentlemen officially connected with the College, and worshipping in its chapel, cannot but desire, and sometimes in their sorrows may greatly need, the care and sympathy of a pastor.

Here, now, are wants of the highest and most urgent nature, wants of the College and of the School, wants of the teachers with their families, and of the students, which ought to be supplied. That they are not, and cannot be supplied under the present arrangement, will not fail, we think, to be admitted. We are but uttering the convictions of the individuals most interested, when we say, that it is impossible, we might almost say physically impossible, for gentlemen, who have been all the week engaged in the recitation-rooms, teaching Theology in its diversified branches as a science, following the students of the college in their respective courses, and those of the theological school in theirs, to bring to the pulpit on the Sabbath either the intellectual preparation, which a collegiate church beyond most others requires, or the spiritual power, which comes with the preparation of the heart, and the souls of their hearers need. In few places can the Christian preacher address an audience, more interesting or more susceptible of the highest influences. Here are assembled young men, the hope of the land, at a period of life so decisive in its influences on every other, alive to all impressions, — we should do them deep injustice in supposing them insensible to the best — and is it not of peculiar moment, that interests, so vital to themselves and to the world, in which by the privileges of their education they are destined to sustain so important a part, should be most anxiously and amply provided for.

The subject, we are well aware, occupies the thoughts and solicitude of the government of the college. We earnestly wish to awaken for it the attention it deserves in the community. And especially will we entreat the favorable consideration of those, whose wealth and liberality, whose love of the college and readiness to advance its interests are equally known to us.

Is it asked "what shall be done, and how shall these urgent wants be supplied?" We can only say, for we should deem it presumption to say more, it is for the authorities and the patrons of the college to consider. But if we may be permitted a suggestion, it would be, that provision be made for the appointment of a public preacher and pastor for the university, who should have the whole office of the religious worship and instruction; who should not only preach on Sundays to the members of the college, but should at other times and in various ways be devoted to their religious and moral culture, as their teacher and pastor; who would visit in the families of his congregation, and, as far as might be expedient or practicable, encourage personal intercourse with the students. Such an one might come to them with an influence, unmingled with academic restraints or associations, and be the minister to successive generations of the sons of Harvard, of spiritual blessings, in comparison of which mere intellectual glory and the richest stores of human knowledge are of little worth.

F. P.

ART. VI. — *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, LL. D., with Selections from his Correspondence.* Edited by his Son, RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B. A. Bristol: Philp & Evans. London: Green, Newgate St. 1842. 8vo. pp. 516.

THOSE, who have long been familiar with the name and writings of the late Dr. Carpenter, will greet with pleasure these memoirs by the hand of his son. They will eagerly turn to the pages, that shall give them trustworthy memorials of one, for whose character they have conceived, from his works, the highest respect. No name, among modern English Unitarians, is heard with more respect, on this side the Atlantic, than that of Carpenter. They will not be disappointed on

reading the volume before us ; no otherwise, at least, we are very certain, than by the new claims, by which they will be surprised, upon their veneration and love. Many among us have had the happiness in their travels abroad, to know personally one, whom they had before known through his writings, and by familiar intercourse, face to face, to become acquainted with traits of character, and qualities both of the mind and heart, which raised him still higher in their affections, but to which others, not enjoying the same opportunities, remained strangers. The biography of the son places us all on the same footing. They, who read the book, will feel as if they had seen and known the man. And if its readers express any regret on finishing the record, it will be, we will venture to predict, that more complete and minute details of some parts of his father's life were not given, rather than that in any part they have exceeded a just and proper measure. From his letters, for example, and his diaries, we would gladly have seen more copious selections, as throwing the clearest and strongest light upon his religious character, — the great interest of the volume, — and bringing the reader into a closer personal union with him, than can possibly be done in any other way. And, in the whole of Dr. Carpenter's character, there was such a beautiful truthfulness and simplicity, such perfect honesty, that we are sure, a line of his most private meditations or devotions could not have been printed, that would have had any other effect than to increase our general admiration of the man, and of these very qualities in particular. They were too genuine in him for any contradiction of them to be apprehended in anything he ever wrote. Often in the biographies of religious men, the "Diary" is that very thing, from which we shrink with distrust, because the general character wanted truth, and the record therefore must want it. But in the case of Dr. Carpenter, we look with eagerness for his own words in relation to himself, as the best possible authority ; there is such a stamp of absolute honesty on the whole character, we feel that we can confide in him even better than another.

We do not make these remarks by way of complaint. Far from it. We think the son has completed his difficult, yet pleasing task, in a way that must satisfy his friends, and his father's friends, at home and abroad. He has given a true and faithful likeness, we are led to believe, of his parent, and,

at the same time, furnished a model of Christian excellence, on which all, but especially the young student of theology, may fix their eyes and gain wisdom and strength. In his preface he expresses the apprehension, lest the natural partiality of a son should endanger or corrupt the truth of his representations, and unfit him for the task he had undertaken. This ground of fear is so obvious and so natural, that we suspect the effect of it in practice would be, that while guarding against error on one side, he would fall into as great or greater on the other, and paint his picture with colors far more timid and cold than even a stranger would have used. We cannot say that in the present instance the true medium has not been hit and preserved, for we had no personal knowledge of the subject of this biography, and have no other judgment than such as we have been enabled to form from a perusal of his works. But we can easily conceive, that the sensitiveness of so near a relation would naturally enough have the effect of which we speak. We should sooner look for partiality or flattery in a friend, or acquaintance, than in a son.

Without further preface, we shall proceed to offer a sketch of the life of Dr. Carpenter, relying for our materials entirely upon the volume before us.

Dr. Carpenter was born at Kidderminster, Sept. 2, 1780, the third son of George Carpenter, a carpet manufacturer of that place. Of his father little is said. The mother is described as a "woman of great natural vivacity, warm and affectionate feelings, and trustful piety, and remarkable for her cheerful endurance and perseverance in the midst of difficulties," and from her he seems to have inherited some of the best qualities which afterward distinguished him. His father, while he was yet quite young, proving unfortunate in business, left Kidderminster, and his youngest son was adopted by a friend and relative of the family, a Mr. Pearsall, intelligent, benevolent, and religious, yet, with all his excellent qualities, hardly making up, we imagine, for the separation from his mother. These new circumstances were, however, on the whole, quite propitious to the manly growth of his character. A Sunday School was established by his guardian on his estate, about the same time, it is observed, that Raikes founded the institution at Gloucester, and without any knowledge of his movements. Young Carpenter took part in the school as

teacher of the poor children, and, as an instance of how truly it may be said, that the "man is in the boy," it may be mentioned, that being extremely desirous to give to some of his scholars a more complete instruction than the time on Sunday afforded, he persuaded them to rise at four o'clock every morning, and devote an hour to study before commencing the day's labor at five, — and this, at eleven years of age. Of his character at this period an elder brother says, "he was the type of what he was in after life — good, amiable, and kind, always trying to please and make others happy, (and he always succeeded,) exerting his energies in instructing the ignorant, and, as far as he had the power, in adding to the virtue and happiness of the world. During the whole of his early years he did not live with his family; and his occasional visits were always hailed with joy, by the whole of us — certainly enthusiastically so by myself."

After an experience of various teachers from this time to his 17th year, it was then determined to place him as a student in the Dissenting Academy at Northampton, it always having been the purpose of the gentleman who had adopted him to educate him for the ministry. This was the same institution which, formerly at Daventry, was under the charge of Doddridge, Ashworth, Belsham, &c. It seems, at this time, to have been a wretched institution every way. The trustees, having been thoroughly alarmed by the desertion of Mr. Belsham over to the ranks of the enemy, and by the heresies that were creeping in among the students, imported a classical tutor from Scotland to restore the endangered orthodoxy of the school, of whom and his fitness for his office Mr. Carpenter thus wrote at the time to a friend. "His only recommendation seems to have been his high Calvinism. The students soon discovered his utter incapacity to instruct them; he was accustomed to employ literal English translations; when any of the class was unable to proceed, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he did not know how to assist them, and by his gross mistakes incurred the contempt of the young men." No wonder such an institution was soon broken up. Even of the head of the institution, a Dr. Horsey of Northampton, of whom Dr. Carpenter in his letters speaks with great respect, it is yet said, that the lectures on Pneumatology, which he delivered, "were originally composed by Dr. Doddridge, but afterward greatly amended and enlarged by Mr. Belsham,

by whom they were left as heirlooms to the Northampton Academy." Truly, a most convenient practice.

Things growing no better under the new Scotch teacher, but heterodoxy rather improving than otherwise, the trustees, losing all patience, suddenly dissolved the Academy. Of Mr. Carpenter, at this period, Dr. Horsey thus speaks; "Recollecting distinctly and vividly the impressions which lie back forty years and more, I would say that what struck me most in the mind and manners of my lost friend, at the age I first knew him, even more if possible than his intelligence, were his gentleness and sweetness, and the character of sanctity, natural, native, wholly unassumed and unassuming; there seemed to be one path of life suited to him—that which he chose." Under Mr. Pearsall, a Unitarian, Mr. Carpenter had been educated in his own opinions; but while in Northampton, in a reply to a letter from an orthodox uncle, he says, "certainly, Sir, I have not studied the doctrine nor the evidences of Christianity; nor have I made up my mind on any of the systems of Christianity except the tenets of Calvinism." Being charged at the same time by the trustees with being a Socinian, he says, "from what source they drew this information I cannot tell; though I own that I was more decided in my opinions, and further from what is called moderation, than I am at present." From these hints it is pleasant to learn, that although he had been educated under strict Unitarian influences, he had not servilely adopted fixed opinions, but still considered himself as of the class of "Seekers."

Upon leaving Northampton, where, though the institution was wholly incompetent to meet the wants of those who resorted to it, he had, through his own active, untiring industry, made good progress in study, after much anxious deliberation, he determined in favor of Glasgow as the place where he would complete his education. Here, at length, during three years, he enjoyed excellent opportunities of study under amiable and perfectly competent professors. Of his literary progress we can take no note further than to say, that at the close of the course he left the institution with its highest honors. We can attend only to the state of his mind and opinions. Soon after arriving at Glasgow he was seized with a serious illness, which, while it seems to have left no evil traces on his constitution, was beneficial in its effects on his mind and heart. "In the days and weeks of solitude," says his biographer, "during

which he was confined to his chamber, he had much leisure to look into his heart. Extreme conscientiousness was one of his characteristics; and he would not have been human if he had not found some causes for self-reproach. From this period he manifested clearer and more elevated views of religion, greater watchfulness over his own self-culture, and a carefulness to fulfil every duty, which often led him to an overestimate of the claims of others upon him." The dangerous sickness of a friend helped to deepen his serious impressions, and awaken him to the danger of ideas he was beginning to admit into his mind.

"Before he went to Northampton," says Mr. Carpenter, "he had largely partaken in the political excitement of the time; the French Revolution, the subsequent riots in Birmingham, in which his family narrowly escaped being sufferers, and the general political ferment, had seized upon his imagination; nor was he entirely free from that skeptical spirit which accompanied it, though he was far from seriously hesitating as to the truth of Divine Revelation.

"As doubt had never taken any definite form, he might have never known that it had entered his mind, if in these long hours of languishing, and especially when he felt the probability of his being called to give up his last account, he had not feared the infinite importance of the Christian Dispensation, not only as our charter of immortality, but as the foundation of the sinner's hope. Probably he had not then discriminated between the faith of the heart and intellectual conviction; but he felt the necessity of resting on a sure basis; and he determined that, if health should be restored, one of its first employments should be carefully to study the Evidences of Divine Revelation. In pursuance of this resolution, he remained at Glasgow during the vacation, devoting himself to this object with his wonted ardor of pursuit, and laborious accuracy, which were rendered more intense by the earnestness with which he engaged in his present study. This illness, then, probably led him to that deep and unwavering conviction of the truth of Divine Revelation, and that high appreciation of its importance, as conveying to us the terms of acceptance, and the promises of pardon, which, ever afterwards, distinguished him."—pp. 38, 39.

While he was still pursuing his studies at Glasgow, he was urged by his uncle to break off from them and enter at once upon the ministry, implying that he believed him to experience some reluctance to enter upon that office, and saying, that the

reluctance would increase the longer it was deferred. It should be stated, that on joining the school at Northampton, it was with the understanding that he was designed for the ministry ; and it was on the understanding that he was still preparing himself for it, that an "exhibition" was allowed him while at Glasgow, by the trustees of that institution. He replies, that the office of the ministry was his choice ; to qualify himself for it the principal object of his studies ; and that his reluctance to enter immediately upon it proceeded not from any objection to the office itself, but from not thinking himself to possess the requisite qualifications, and because he wished some knowledge in other branches of learning, which, though not absolutely essential to his utility as a preacher, would be to his utility as a man. In various extracts of letters written at this time, he shows the strong bent of his mind toward learning. Evidently his ruling desire was to accomplish himself thoroughly in the various branches of college study, that he might be fully qualified, on entering the world, to become, in turn, its instructor. He was not willing to be merely a preacher, much as he revered and desired the office. He ever associated with that office the twin vocation of tutor, schoolmaster, lecturer, teacher. For his own happiness he sought for knowledge as the hart for the water brooks ; no one more than he, held

"— ignorance as the curse of God,
Knowledge the wings wherewith we fly to heaven."

And his purpose was out of the fulness of his own mind to make himself useful, wherever providence should call him, as the teacher of his brethren. But as his college course drew towards its termination, a greater proportion of his time and labor was devoted to studies exclusively theological, — consecrating his entire vacation intervals, in a spirit of the severest application, to the critical study of the New Testament. "His vacation," says his biographer, "which was now drawing to a close, he had devoted with unremitting ardor to his studies, which were chiefly theological. He often, with the exception of telling the servants his wants, passed entire days without speaking a single word ; but he enjoyed a very good state of health, and upon the whole good spirits."

We learn precisely the state of his mind at this time, (1801,) the last year of his residence at Glasgow, from a letter addressed to Mr. Coward's trustees.

"The profession, in which I am soon to engage, was at first rather the choice of my friends than my own. Frequent and serious reflection has since convinced me, that, though motives of worldly prudence would place a bar against any one's entering upon it, it afforded greater field for active exertion in the cause of religion and virtue (particularly among the rising generation) than any other situation. Though perhaps rather less sanguine than I once was, in my expectations of utility, the prospect still continues sufficiently bright to make me engage in the cause with alacrity. And my first wish, my most ardent prayer to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is, that I may be the instrument of extending the knowledge and practice of Christianity in the world. As an additional means of support, and, as I consider it, an additional sphere of utility, it is not improbable that, when my judgment is more matured, I shall join a small school (if possible a few boarders rather than day-scholars) to the charge of a congregation." — pp. 69, 70.

More fully, from a letter to the Rev. John Corrie, whose assistant he afterwards became in his school.

"The engagement of a tutor is that to which I look forward, and have long been accustomed to consider one grand employment of my life. I am, however, in some degree, engaged by the receipt of Coward's exhibition to enter upon the office of a minister; and I feel my inclination concordant. But it is not the public engagement, but the business of private instruction, particularly of the younger part of the congregation, to which I look forward as my duty; and, unless I can settle with a congregation, in which I shall be able to exert myself in this manner, I cannot contentedly spend my life there. With these views, however, I cannot but hold myself bound to accept a congregation, if such should offer, in which it is probable that I shall be able to put my plan of utility into execution; and, in whatever situation I may be engaged previously to this, unless my views materially alter, I must hold myself at liberty to leave it when I have the prospect." — p. 71.

"These sentiments," Mr. Carpenter remarks, "may be unexpected by those, who only knew Dr. C. in his public relations, and who felt how remarkably qualified he was for pulpit duties; but they naturally arose from the early circumstances in which he was placed; these, as we have before seen, excited, even to ardor, the desire of communicating knowledge to the young, which always characterized him. 'The task of education [he says at this period] is one to which

I look forward as the chief employment of my life. If any think disgrace attached to it, I am not one of the number; and I feel no hesitation in avowing that I have been engaged in it, unrewarded indeed by anything, but by the pleasure of giving instruction to those who might otherwise have been destitute of it.'"

But if Dr. Carpenter at this time considered himself eminently fitted for the office of tutor, and undoubtedly that was his great distinction, he was eminently fitted also for the office of a Christian pastor, and great would have been the loss sustained by the Church had a professor's chair seduced him from the service of Christ.

But we must hasten with our narrative. Leaving Glasgow full of honors, he removed to a village near Birmingham, and connected himself with Mr. Corrie in the superintendence of his school. But not finding here the leisure he still needed for study, he accepted an offer made to him by Mr. Yates of Liverpool, to become one of the Librarians of the Athenæum Library, declining meanwhile an invitation to settle in Birmingham. In this city he passed four years, — four fruitful years. For, although he was not in the way of his chosen profession, yet he was laying up fresh stores of every kind, afterwards to be brought forth and used in the discharge of its great duties; and, occasionally, during the whole of this period, he was employed as a preacher in the city and its neighborhood. But beside this, and his regular duties as librarian, and the pursuit of his private studies, his active and laborious mind could not rest satisfied without adding various classes, in the higher branches of education, to his other avocations. "Some of his pupils were with him at seven o'clock in the morning; and he was then, as in after life, accustomed to rise early, — often at four, and almost always before six."

Mr. Carpenter speaks of his father's residence in Liverpool, as having produced a deep and lasting effect upon his character. "The wisdom of man," he says, "would have prompted a doubt as to the expediency of so long withdrawing himself from the duties of his profession; but the result proved that he lost nothing by following what he believed to be the leadings of Providence. His letters show that he prepared himself for his future duties by reflecting on the services he attended; and by observing the effects that the different kinds of preaching which he heard seemed to produce." His mind during this

period seems to have turned inward much upon itself, and to have become steadily fixed in its devotional habits. We find the following reflections recorded against the 1st of January, 1803.

“ The commencement of a new period of time can be uninteresting only from its frequent occurrence, or from religious apathy. I am one year nearer that bourn which terminates the time of probation,—is an idea which calls for reflection. Has that year been improved? When I perceive my present situation, and see how very far below even a moderate standard of excellence I am, I seem to feel certain that it has not. It has not as it ought; but I hope a comparison with the last will allow me room to believe, that it has been that year of my life in which I have most improved. It has been a year in which my principles of action have been brought to a rigorous test; in which the necessity of amelioration has been perceived; in which it has, in many instances, been attempted; in which the dictates of self-knowledge have been put in practice. It has been a year in which more has been done for futurity than in any other of my life; in which, if I have not made much intellectual progress, my moral ideas have been cleared and settled; and I hope my resolution confirmed to act upon them. But of many of the incidents of the year, I may have cause to repent. I shall, however, have the satisfaction of believing, that they have been produced in general by right intention; and that my errors have been of the understanding, not of the heart. I do not mean that all my actions have been caused by motives unmixed by the debasing alloy of self;—so far from it, that a mixture of that enters, I fear, into most of my conduct, in some so intricately involved with motives that appear pure, that it requires much attention to follow its windings. May the present year be a year of real progress; and I join with you in supplicating from the God of Holiness, increase of holiness in heart and life, even if a life of suffering be the means. My heart beats with gratitude for the mercies of the past year.” —pp. 104, 105.

In a fragment of a letter of nearly the same date, the healthy and earnest frame of his mind is further seen.

“ Preserve that fear. * * * Watch over your friend with unremitting attention; he never feels the value of your friendship more decidedly than when you become his religious monitor. Devotion is not yet become with me that settled principle which animates and directs every action. Its influence is inconstant. It is an ardent but unsteady feeling. It is

not yet become habitual. Will it ever? I fear, yet not despair. Does not its growth demand care? Is there no reason to fear the chilling influence of the world, or to apprehend lest the celestial rays should be intercepted by occupations, laudable in their degree, but of late excessive? I do not much fear the former; I live too much separate from the world to be injured by it; my times are now incompatible with visiting, except on Sunday afternoon. But the other affords solid ground for apprehension; I believe my habits are such, that, whatever pursuits appear desirable, my whole soul is engrossed by them for the time. This is too strong an expression; but to a considerable degree it is just. Now for that reason I wish for such studies as shall have an immediate connexion with the concerns of immortality. While my attention was so directed I could perceive a progress in amelioration; since that, progress is impeded. Stopped?—I hope not. Your reference to that Sunday evening, led me to consider what progress have I made since ‘in self-government, in religious habits, and in preparation for a better world?’ Would that I could say in Thy presence, Thou great Searcher of hearts, that I have been more than stationary! I have never doubted the goodness of God; but I have felt little of the calmness which it should inspire. My mind has been tossed about by circumstances which should have led me to the shelter of Omnipotent goodness, but which seemed to incapacitate me for the steadiness of devotion; though they frequently called for the ardent aspiration. But the calm which is now come (I already look at the past as a tale that is told) gives me room to hope that I shall pursue the road with steadiness, as well as with warmth.” — p. 106.

Again, under the date of May, 1803.

“I seem to long for a less agitated state of mind than that which I have lately felt, it has the effect so much of unsettling my mind, and dissipating my attention. I can exert myself when exertion is demanded, but I seem always to require something to rouse me. Soon, however, I hope I shall regain the power of voluntarily fixing my attention,—of checking the train of thoughts. I regret it most in my devotional exercises. I think more of God, my thoughts are more easily directed towards Him for a short time; in various situations, and at various hours, my mind rises above; but though the association appears to me more general, it is not so constant; my attention is more easily distracted; I cannot say, this period, however short, shall be fixed upon heaven. O my Father! may I dare to hope that the time will come, when every thought shall be brought

into subjection ; when earth will be entirely shut out from that heart which would think alone on Thee. Do I deceive myself when I believe that I ardently wish it ? Guard every avenue of my heart, and make me wholly Thine ! In the moment of languor or oppression, if some friendly hand were stretched out to guide me, I could ascend ; but here there is not one with whom I can communicate my feelings. * * * The time, I would hope, yet dare scarcely believe, will come, when in such moments He, who knoweth the recesses of my heart, will graciously consecrate that heart to himself ; will enable me then to find the way, even without a guide, and will gently animate my soul with some cheering rays of His favor. But let me not induce you to believe that I am often, or long, in gloom. I may appear to write so now, but I am not. I am not at this moment in a state I would wish to change. My feelings are calm, tinged a little with a sober hue ; but it is not unpleasant." * * * p. 118.

While in Liverpool, after declining several offers of settlement, he finally accepted the invitation of the Exeter congregation to become their associate pastor, in connexion with Mr. Manning ; and he removed there in 1805, in the 26th year of his age. We cannot be minute in our notice of this period of his life, highly interesting and instructive as it is. It must suffice to say, that it was active and laborious, like every other period ; that he performed all the usual duties of preacher, pastor, and Sunday-school teacher, delivering besides many courses of evening lectures, doctrinal or expository ; that he wrote and published his "Geography of the New Testament ;" that he founded, and, for a whole year, took the sole management of a public library ; that he wrote and published, in reply to Dr. Veysie, his "Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel ;" published in the Monthly Repository his criticism on the Improved Version, "from which all the opponents of that version selected their weapons ;" compiled and printed a Hymn book ; set on foot Lancasterian schools in the town ; carried on a long and laborious newspaper controversy with his Orthodox opponents ; contributed the articles, Grammar, and Mental and Moral Philosophy, to Nicholson's Encyclopedia ; several also to Aikin's Annual Review ; and the articles, Language, Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical, — Philosophy, Mental and Moral, to the Cyclopedia of Dr. Rees, besides doing his share of the labor, in conjunction with Messrs. Shep-

herd and Joyce, in preparing and publishing in two large octavo volumes, the work on Systematic Education; and delivered courses of anatomical lectures in both Exeter and Bristol; all this beside keeping a classical school during the whole period, and notwithstanding several interruptions from ill health. These were labors too abundant and tasking for any constitution, and it is no wonder they made serious inroads upon one naturally as slender as Dr. Carpenter's, and contributed to bring on a premature old age. While engaged in the newspaper controversy above alluded to, he says, "I had worked, I may say incessantly, during five days, from between four and five in the morning, till between ten and eleven at night; scarcely taking any regular meal, and devoting the whole of my time to those letters, that I could possibly spare from my pupils." His biographer says, "that when some young clergymen were conversing on the subject, (of this controversy,) a dignitary of the Cathedral who was by remarked, 'You may talk and write what and as much as you please; but while Dr. Carpenter's every-day life is what it is, it will be *worse* than useless; to follow his example in living and acting, will do your cause much more good.'"

Yet it does not appear that any immediate ill consequences, that were perceptible at least, followed these extraordinary exertions; and these seem to have been the happiest years of his life. "The period," says his son, "from his resumption of the ministerial office, (after a suspension of a year,) in 1808, till his departure from Exeter, was perhaps that on which those most nearly connected with him can look back with the greatest pleasure, as that in which, on the whole, he enjoyed the highest share of personal happiness. He had recommenced the work in which his heart delighted, on an extended scale, and the earnest interest with which his instructions were greeted showed that he was not laboring in vain." "Though there were times when unusual calls led him to overstrain his powers, his strength was not overtaken in his ordinary occupations, and he had leisure for domestic enjoyments." This shows that he must have been a man not only of a very exact method, but of quick as well as vigorous powers of mind.

A few sentences from his biographer will place him before the reader as he was at this time, better than anything we could say.

"As a preacher he was always acceptable. When he first settled at Exeter, his countenance was youthful, but singularly interesting and expressive; his bearing was ever that of a man of elevated and independent mind; and his voice was sweet, remarkably well modulated, and expressive of the earnest emotions of his soul. It was always his opinion that extempore preaching might safely be left, till self-possession, and an extensive range of ideas on religious subjects, had been acquired from age and experience; and in Exeter, with scarcely an exception, he wrote the whole of his sermons; but they were delivered with that animation, which showed that the thoughts he uttered were not only those suggested by his private meditations, but such as harmonized with his feelings at the time; and as his own spirit was kindled, he was able often to warm others with a similar enthusiasm. The religious culture, which the congregation had received from his able and intelligent predecessor, disposed them to listen, not only with deep interest, but with benefit, to discourses which, from his studies and habits of thought, might have been too intellectual to suit the wants of many congregations. 'The common people heard him gladly,' and even said that they could understand him better than any other preacher."

"Those who were acquainted with him found nothing in his character or conversation which showed a sectarian bias; and he was scarcely ever without pupils from families, some of them of distinction, who were not merely nominal members of the Establishment, but much attached to its doctrines and discipline. These were intrusted to him, with the full and well-grounded assurance, that he would in no way interfere with those religious opinions which their parents wished to instil into their minds; and so great was the confidence reposed in him by one gentleman of rank (belonging to what was regarded as the 'serious' section of the Church), two of whose sons were his pupils, that he wished to obtain permission for some youths who were his wards (who were placed with a neighboring clergyman, as Dr. Carpenter was unable to receive them), to spend the Sunday with him, that they might have the benefit of his religious instructions."

"The Lord's Day was to himself a day of full employment, and he took care that it should not be a day of idleness to his pupils. He supplied them with various and interesting religious occupations; and, during the short intervals, which in the early part of the day he could spend with them, he so directed his conversation, that it should lead to profitable reflection. He arranged that they should have as many domestic enjoyments

as possible; and, when the weather allowed, his little leisure was spent in walking with them in the garden, or in some beautiful retired fields, leading them 'through nature up to nature's God;' and, under these holy influences, instilling into them the most important principles of Christian duty." — pp. 219–223.

"At his own house his young friends were always welcome, particularly after his early dinner, when it seldom happened that some one did not come in, and share the enjoyments of his fire-side, or stroll with him in the play-ground, where he liked to walk, — not to watch his pupils with a suspicious eye, but to partake of their enjoyments, and often to aid them in their games. He valued the sports of youth, the more perhaps from having had few opportunities when young of engaging in them; and he was ever ready to promote them, particularly those which exercised courage or dexterity. He delighted in adding to the innocent pleasures of all, and never appeared more happy than when he collected around him those who shared his catechetical instruction, in the social evening's amusement, which always terminated at an early hour, and to which the buoyancy of his own spirits gave an added charm. He sometimes invited to his Sunday Evening meal young men of his congregation, who, from their position in society, felt that an honor was conferred upon them. Their feeling of the importance of character, and their desire to merit his esteem by their continued good conduct, was thus greatly strengthened; while the cordiality and friendly courtesy of his manner kindled their attachment to him almost into enthusiasm; and the memory of those hours abides with many, a cherished possession." — pp. 228, 229.

"There was something in his aspect and manners, which at once conciliated esteem, and proved that he thought for others, and was courteous, not because it was becoming, but because it would have pained him to be otherwise. There was a sincerity and openness about him, which inspired confidence; and his young friends felt that, with perfect safety, they could make him the depository of all their troubles, tell him their weaknesses, and seek his counsel, — of his sympathy they were secure. It is not, however, to be supposed, that the young in his congregation were alone the objects of his solicitude: — as in after life, he was always ready to forego his closest studies and most interesting pursuits, when the afflicted and the dying called for his comfort, or the perplexed needed his advice. To the death-bed, full as it is of interest and excitement, many will resort, who will not visit those to whom company is really

a solace, when fretted by constant indisposition; but he was ready to cheer the gloomy sufferer, and even to amuse the emaciated child wasting away under a slow disease, and to enliven her as if he had been her young play-fellow. He was felt to be every one's friend, and his sacrifices to duty were not made grudgingly: — 'God loveth the cheerful giver.' No wonder that his congregation was devotedly attached to him; that his wishes were attended to as those of a faithful friend; and that his services were heard with an interest, which even their intrinsic value would not have excited." — pp. 231, 232.

After a ministry of twelve happy years in Exeter, he received an invitation to remove to the Lewin's Mead Congregation, Bristol; and after careful deliberation, and weighing the most important considerations on the one side and the other, determined to accept the call. We cannot be expected to judge of the propriety of this removal; but sure we are, no decision was ever more conscientiously and disinterestedly made than in the present instance. We would only say, that we believe it to be rare, that such changes are made with general advantage to the parties concerned, or the Church at large. If one congregation gains, another loses — often more than the other gains. There is always, at least, whatever else is gained, a loss of happiness on the part of him who leaves a first for a second place, not very easy to be defined or measured, perhaps, but still a loss; the down is rubbed from off the peach. The new sphere and the new friends seem never like the old.

Dr. Carpenter remained in connexion with the Lewin's Mead Congregation from 1817, to the time of his death in 1840. His life and labors in Exeter were repeated in Bristol. All that he did for his old congregation, and for the place of his residence in public-spirited efforts, he did in Bristol for his new congregation, and the new city of his adoption. He was here no less active and laborious, no less abounding in good works, than there. The principal difference to be observed is, that he published less, and was more engaged in public and political affairs. The "Reply to Magee" belongs to this period, — a work which must have cost great labor, and have drawn largely upon the leisure that was so necessary to his health. The merits of the work are well known. Mr. Carpenter here records the testimony of Dr. J. Pye Smith to the character of Dr. Carpenter, which, as the concession of an opponent, is especially valuable.

“‘My previous impressions,’ he says, ‘of his amiable and upright character have been strengthened by the perusal of his work. His candor, integrity, and good temper, besides his intellectual ability, give to his writings an immense advantage over the imbecile arrogance, the rash crudities, and the still more dishonorable artifices of some persons on whom he has felt himself called to animadvert.’”—p. 250.

We regret to learn, that the sale of the work did not pay for its expenses. “I have still,” says Dr. Carpenter, in 1820, “one third of the impression on my hands; and the proceeds of the sale have not yet amounted to the direct expenses by above £50.” Besides the Reply to Magee, we may as well mention in this place, he published also while in Bristol his only other work, and the most valuable of all, one that secures him a high and permanent rank among biblical critics, his “Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels.” This appeared in 1835.

On recovering from an illness of three months’ continuance, in 1826, his biographer says,—

“When we compare this portion of his life with his residence in Exeter, it must be acknowledged that, for a time at least, he lost in comfort and mental repose, though he was perhaps the means of effecting greater good than at any former period. Others benefitted by his change more than he did himself. The increased number of his pupils entailed upon him additional labor and responsibility; and, though composition for the pulpit was not so incessantly necessary, he came to a congregation which required great exertion and strain of mind.”—p. 295.

His old home was evidently the happiest. The following paragraphs show the state of his mind at this time.

“‘My sentiments have become increasingly *evangelical*, by my feeling more and more the immense importance and value of the Gospel as the glad tidings of salvation, not only by conveying hopes full of immortality, and rescuing from the darkness of the grave, and shedding light on the way of duty, but also as a dispensation of divine love to sinful man, of mercy to pardon, and grace to help in time of need. I review what I wrote on these subjects fourteen or fifteen years ago, with a cheering persuasion that I have little or nothing to unsay; and, as it respects *doctrine*, little even to add; but it is also with a fulness of heart and comprehensiveness of view, which I did not then experience. The same expressions appear to me to mean much

more, to have a greater force, a more extensive applicability to the wants and weaknesses of the children of error, sin, and death. I feel more as I think the apostles must have done, when I meditate on the inestimable blessings of the *gracious message*, the *glad tidings*, the *gospel* of peace, and pardon, and everlasting life. And I see more clearly and more fully the wisdom and the mercy of the appointment, which set forth Christ Jesus as the Mercy-seat, and caused it to be sprinkled with his own blood. And, partly indeed because I am less likely to be misunderstood, but partly because I perceive more the vast comprehensiveness and importance of the grace of God by Christ, I can, with more unreservedness of expression and of soul, declare that I glory in the cross of Christ.

“My *opinions* on the subject are, I believe, on all points of moment, unchanged; but my *sentiments* (in which I include, not only the *doctrines*, but the associated *affections* of gratitude and love, of veneration and submission, of faith and hope, of contrition and consolation, the joyful anticipations those doctrines inspire of blessedness to man in this world and in another, the appreciation of the inestimable value of Gospel blessings, and the desire to promote the extension of that knowledge which is life eternal — these) have, I trust, increasingly risen towards the only just standard, the spirit of the Gospel, and of him in whom we have redemption through his blood, and the doctrines and representations of those who knew him on earth, and witnessed his humiliation and his triumphs, and who felt (not more than we should feel, for we alike share them) what is meant by the ‘fulness of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ.’” — pp. 298, 299.

Ill health and a constitution evidently beginning to break up, though he was as yet hardly past the middle point of life, made it necessary for him to withdraw from all his labors, and see what rest and travel might accomplish for his restoration. He passed over to France, and was absent more than a year. During a part of this period he suffered great depression of spirits, and it was even so confidently reported that he had changed his religious opinions, that he thought it necessary publicly to contradict the rumor in the pages of the *Monthly Repository*. The journey was attended by signal advantages, and he returned home with renewed powers, to enter with all his former vigor upon former labors. While abroad he had requested a dismissal from his congregation, but he now rejoined it, relinquishing his school to the care of his able assistant, Mr. Martineau; his wife and daughters at the same time opening a school for young ladies.

No account of Dr. Carpenter could be complete, which should omit to draw from Mr. Martineau's reminiscences of his residence in Bristol during the years 1819-1821. We would willingly give the whole, but must content ourselves with a few extracts. Mr. Martineau speaks of him chiefly as "a Schoolmaster," but the qualities of mind, on which he dwells at most length, are universal in their interest and value.

"'The sleepless vigilance,' says Mr. Martineau, 'which distinguished the administration of your father's household, arose, however, chiefly from that profound *moral feeling* which was the great primary force of his whole mind; transcending and directing not only his intellectual gifts, but (if it is possible to separate and compare what in him were so absolutely blended) even his religious affections. I have never seen in any human being the idea of duty, the feeling of right, held in such visible reverence. The unity and consistency of his speculative views, enabling any one who knew him to predict his sentiments on almost any given subject, arose, I apprehend, from no strict logical coherence among his opinions; and the firmness and dignity of his deportment in practical life cannot be ascribed to that union of natural tact with strength of personal resolve, which often gives influence where there is little virtue; but *both* these qualities sprung from the simplicity and earnestness of his moral convictions. His mind was placed far above the reach of all the ingenuity by which, in private or public affairs, questionable things are sometimes justified; the subtleties of the most brilliant casuistry were thrown away upon him, and could not detain him for a moment from an immediate insight into the merits of every question amenable to the law of conscience. Indeed, the clearness of his view, and the directness of his expression on such matters, were the more remarkable, because on other subjects his modes of thought required deliberation to save them from confusion, and his unstudied language was involved and circuitous. The spirit of duty in his house was no withered ghost of custom, but such a living reality as it befalls few to witness. Though the machinery of rules and habits, devised for the maintenance of punctuality and order, was more complicated and extensive than I have ever seen in operation elsewhere, never was there less indolent trust in mere routine. The mechanism served, and never ruled; and at its remotest point, felt the thrill of some high purpose as its moving power. Dr. C. was not less fond than others of those precepts of discipline, and maxims of life, by which elders vainly endeavor to convey to the young the moral experience of riper years. But

from him they never appeared prosy and tiresome, or produced the repugnance and disgust with which they are apt to affect a set of thoughtless boys.”

“‘When I remember the quantity of work which was weekly achieved, the constant mental activity which was kept up (the very meals being rarely allowed to pass without some kind of reading), the considerable number of subjects on which some sound elementary knowledge was given, I think with admiration of the mastery by which so much energy was quietly maintained, without alienating the indolent or bewildering the weak. Such a spirit your father could never have awakened among his pupils, had it not been his own. He exacted nothing from them, which he did not require also from himself; of the discipline enjoined upon his house,—its early rising, its neatness, its courtesy, its golden estimate of moments, he was himself the model; in all his instructions he was visibly interested, and while teaching the familiar was evidently learning something new; whatever pains he demanded in order to analyse the construction of a sentence, or determine a point of history, or clear up a mythological allusion, or settle the quantity and pronunciation of a word, he prodigally bestowed himself, whenever any obscurity and doubt found occasion for them. Boyhood, which detests, as they deserve, all kinds of sham and pretence, easily places itself at the disposal of a sincerity as profound as this; owns as a true guide one who lives under the authority of the rules he imposes, and whose administration of command is itself an exercise of obedience.’”

“‘I should say that the specific want of your father’s mind was in his faint perception of beauty. He had little appreciation of Art, as such, and apart from the moral purposes which may be associated with it; and though not without a delight occasionally vivid, in poetry, music, and painting, he evidently experienced in this only the pleasure reflected from the higher affections, and was a stranger to the genuine æsthetic emotion. His classical knowledge was superior to his classical taste; and while, in the reading of a Greek drama, he would note with admiration every fine moral sentiment of Sophocles, and pause upon the general maxims of Euripides, the simple and severe grandeur of the work as a whole, the perfection and symmetry of its form, and its interest as the most genuine expression of Grecian ideal life, escaped apparently unobserved. His criticism, indeed, of all works of art, ancient or modern, was ethical rather than historical and psychological; and heartily recognised no excellence in any production of genius, beyond its didactic and descriptive truth. I am not sure that from this inability to

quit his moral point of view, he did not too much sanction the theory which regards the imagination with a suspicious eye; considering it as a mere embellishment of human nature,—a luxury to be sparingly allowed; or even as a positive seduction, to be placed under the vigilant police of the other faculties. The singular combination of profound natural feeling with this prosaic cast of thought furnished, perhaps, the true interpretation both of the habitual characteristics, and of the extraordinary passages of his life."

"The directly religious instruction of the school, in all respects admirable, owed its efficacy chiefly to the quality to which, in truth, all power on earth is given, viz., its deep and absolute sincerity. Nothing was taught, or even casually said, because it *ought to be* believed, or *had been* believed, or *had better not be disbelieved*; but only because it *was, at that present time*, in full and devout belief. There was no such thing as a dead particle in your father's faith; it was instinct with life in every fibre. Religion, in his house, was not that shadowy, dreamy, distant thing which it often becomes; and many who came thither were startled, I doubt not, to find it there on the spot, and awake, and positively busy with the duties of every day. It was from this cause, I suppose, that he never disgusted even the most careless with religion,—a preëminence in which, so far as I know, he stands almost solitary amongst teachers. For my own part I believe that in the training of the mind's devotion, there is no medium between total failure and complete success; that the instructor must either effect an undisputed conquest or suffer a sad defeat; and that whenever a pure veneration is not yielded, there will follow an utter distaste. And it may be doubted whether to such vivid and simple conviction as your father's Christianity displayed (where its natural influence is not intercepted) success is ever denied. There was something in his voice, mellowed by the spirit within, that made the reality of God felt; something that broke through the boundary between the seen and the unseen, and opened that 'secret place of the Almighty' whence sanctity descends on all human obligations. I can never lose the unspeakable feeling of happy sacredness which he diffused over the Sunday; and after all the changes of twenty years, its morning and evening come to me still in the same colors that awed and refreshed my boyish mind. And often, amid the labors of that day, or under that preparatory travail of the soul whose severity few suspect, and which it is fitting to bear in silence, have I remembered the peaceful Sabbath hours purchased by your father's faithful service, and thought any toil repaid which can shed such consecration on the seventh part of human life."—pp. 344–351.

We can barely glance at the period extending from 1829 to 1840, the date of Dr. Carpenter's death. It is marked by the death of his first colleague, Mr. Rowe, and the installing, first, of Mr. R. B. Aspland, and afterwards, Mr. G. Armstrong in his place as co-pastor; and by the active part he took in the movements for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, in the struggle for reform in 1831, and in all political affairs in which the interests of Dissenters were involved. He was gratified at this time by the visit of Rammohun Roy, and of several American friends, Dr. Tuckerman, Dr. Channing, and Mr. Phillips. So great was the relief he experienced from the active and energetic labors of his young colleague, Mr. Aspland, that he pronounced those years, in which he was connected with him, the happiest of his life; as he was less oppressed by cares and toil which were burdensome to his spirit, and could devote himself more uninterruptedly to such as were after his own heart.

"On Christmas day, 1836," says his son, "he expressed his belief that it was the happiest period of his life. Strangers, who only knew him by the active services in which he was engaged, spoke of him as 'venerable,' and considered him as one advanced in years. He was now fifty-six, and liked to speak of himself, as his friend Dr. Tuckerman had done, as on 'the sunny side of fifty;' he felt that he had not been idle in the vineyard, and that others might now bear some of the burden and heat of the day."—p. 403.

In 1838, Dr. Carpenter published his second edition of the Apostolical Harmony, dedicating it, by permission, to the Queen, — a piece of effrontery on the part of a Unitarian dissenter, that, as will be remembered, made a great commotion among the bigots of the Church, and the tory party. This was the last public act of his life. Unfavorable symptoms successively showed themselves, until it was deemed advisable that he should relinquish all duty, and try once more the virtues of a foreign tour. Accordingly, on the 18th of August he left London for Antwerp, and passing through the Netherlands, a part of Germany, and Switzerland, reached Rome on the 1st of December, and there spent the three winter months. In the spring, after passing a month in Naples, it was determined to proceed to Turin, and, to vary the journey, a passage was taken on board a steamer for Leghorn. It was on this passage that the melancholy event of his death occurred. We

give the sad narrative in the words of the biographer. The boat sailed on the 5th of April, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

"It was thought that, if the weather had been fair, he might have been refreshed by his voyage; but unfortunately the sea was rough, and the rain prevented him from remaining much on deck. At 6 o'clock he dined, and had not at that time complained of sickness, though he was evidently uncomfortable. Former experience proved that he was easily disturbed, especially when in delicate health, by the motion of a vessel; and he was always peculiarly dependent on free ventilation. His friend, soon after his meal, was attacked by sea-sickness, and was compelled to lie down; Dr. C. was at that time sitting in the cabin, not far from his bed, in company with three or four other gentlemen, who afterwards retired. He was seen walking on the deck till about 10 o'clock that night; and was subsequently observed standing on the cabin stairs, apparently for the sake of fresh air, the rain being then too violent to allow of any one remaining above. This was the last time that he was seen; but it appeared the next morning that he had retired to his berth, and had unlocked his bag, and removed some of the contents, as if preparing to go to rest. It is probable that, whilst thus engaged, sea-sickness overpowered him, and that he went on deck; 'when it pleased God suddenly to remove him, in a manner which there was no human eye to witness, and of which no human tongue, therefore, can confidently speak.' That he should not have been observed is the less surprising as the night was very dark and stormy, and there were only two men upon deck; the vessel was violently tossed, so that one of the paddles was occasionally out of water; and probably one of these lurches occurring, when he was leaning over the side, oppressed with sea-sickness, he lost his balance and fell overboard.

"As soon as his absence was noticed the next morning, the most anxious search was made; but nothing beyond the facts already stated could be ascertained. If any doubt had been entertained as to his death, all uncertainty was removed by the discovery of the body, about two months afterwards, on the coast near Porto d'Anzio, a small sea-port about 50 miles S.E. of Rome. In obedience to the sanitary laws of the country, the remains were interred on the sea-shore, and covered with lime. His watch, purse, and pocket-book were restored to his family, through the English Consul."—pp. 441, 442.

Thus perished, when as yet he had not reached his sixtieth year, this genuine man and devoted minister of Christ. We

have closed the volume of his memoirs with increased admiration of his character, of the usefulness of his life, of the beauty and energy of his virtues. In his ardent love and pursuit of knowledge, in his untiring activity and laborious industry, in his thirst for improvement and all good reform, in the perfect liberality of his mind, so that no narrow prejudice seems ever to have found a lodgment there, in the candor and fairness of his judgments, in his strict honesty and conscientiousness, in the unaffected warmth of his religious affections and his devotedness to the great work which he took in hand, in the spirit of humanity with which he sought to do good to all, especially to the poor, the ignorant, and the oppressed, in his piety and philanthropy, he is an example to be held of all in lasting and honorable remembrance. If any have heretofore only known and respected him as a scholar and a critic, or followed him as a leader, let them study his whole character and life as unfolded by his son in these memoirs, and they will revere and love him as a Christian and a man. We would gladly transfer to our pages portions of the closing chapters of the volume, in which the son presents in a comprehensive summary, the distinguishing features of his father's character; but our limits forbid.

We have already expressed our general sense of the manner in which the task of commemorating the virtues of the father has been executed by the son. The duty could hardly have been entrusted to a more competent hand. As far as we can judge from our knowledge of Dr. Carpenter's character gathered from other sources, he seems to have escaped the peculiar dangers of his position, and to have presented it truly as it was, without exaggeration of its excellences on the one hand, or a timid withholding of just praise on the other. He has furnished a volume, in a style of appropriate simplicity, not only of eminent value, as an ecclesiastical record, but interesting and instructive in the highest degree, as a book of practical religion.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Thoughts on Moral and Spiritual Culture. By R. C. WATERTON. Boston: Crocker & Ruggles, and Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1842. 12mo. pp. 317.

A BOOK at once eminently spiritual and practical, one that may be used in the closet, by him who would fan the devotional flame on his heart's altar, or abroad, as a manual by the Christian who would carry his piety into action, is a thing to be at all times cordially welcomed.

At the present moment especially, is there a demand for works like the one before us. Serious, substantial reading is in request, for many are setting earnestly about the great business of life, and craving every possible help. Books are sought that will warm and elevate the soul; and he who, like our author, glows while he writes, yet forgets not the lessons he has learned in actual, constant collision with man, may be expected to send forth such an one, — one every way calculated to do good. He has not disappointed us. The volume consists of disconnected addresses and essays, interspersed with poetry. Some of the addresses have already been published; but the work is none the less valuable on that account. They contain suggestions that we are glad to have brought together in a permanent form, and all may be fitly included in a work professedly treating of Moral and Spiritual Culture. No subject could be better adapted to the times. It is to the importance, the necessity of such culture, that we are now especially roused; and he who helps us begin or carry on the work wisely, while a fresh, strong impulse prompts it, is a benefactor indeed.

The three first essays, on "Childhood," "Growth of the Mind," and "Religious Education," are full of tender and beautiful thoughts, mingled with remarks of the most practical nature, drawn from experience, and applied with discretion. To that large majority of men and women, who are either parents or teachers, — nay, to many others, such as elder brothers and sisters, who are in fact teachers, whether they know it or not, — we would recommend this part of the volume. It must of course contain many ideas that are not new; but they are clearly expressed, and so vividly illustrated, that they are likely to have effect. It is of no consequence how often a truth has been uttered, if it has been uttered to no purpose. He who first sends it home to the soul may be to us its true author. It is on its efficiency, on its power to produce effects

upon the understandings, hearts, and lives of its readers, that the real value of a book depends. We will give a brief specimen of the kind of writing we mean, with which the book abounds.

"The true education," says Mr. Waterston, "is not to give to the mind so much as to bring out from the mind, to quicken its creative power. All true good comes from within. Religious instruction should not be so much like pouring water into a cup, as stirring the sand, that hidden fountains may gush out."

Here is a useful principle laid plainly down, accompanied by an illustration whose fitness and beauty will help to fix the principle in our memories. Our author must have observed that the most common error of teachers is, that they deal too much in direct teaching. They read, talk, explain; and forget that if they do all this ever so well, they may fail of setting the child's own faculties in proper action, which ought to be the immediate object of all education. We have seen some who appeared totally ignorant of this, as a thing possible or desirable; but seemed rather to consider children as the passive recipients of their indoctrinations, whose heads might become filled with knowledge and their hearts with goodness, by having them poured in at their ears. They had no curiosity to know what was passing in the small brain, with what emotion the little heart was throbbing, and so lost golden opportunities of detecting peculiar liabilities to temptation, clearing up confused impressions, and nourishing pure and good impulses. The talk of a young child is always true to its own distinct nature; they do not all talk alike; and that distinct nature must be understood by him who would train it judiciously. Yet how few cultivate the power of talking with children in such a way as to bring them out! It generally accompanies a talent for saying things which children will remember to their profit; and many a chance visitor has in this way done good in a circle, where he has perhaps passed but few hours of his life. It is a power well worth cultivating; yet none, we believe, can attain it, who are hard, worldly minded, insincere, or weak in intellect. Our author's advice on the whole subject of intercourse with children, in whatever capacity, is calculated to help the acquisition.

The Essay on the "Diffusive nature of Christianity" has already borne rich fruits; it may and will bear more. It is followed by one on "Moral and Spiritual Culture," and another, "On the best mode of exerting a moral and spiritual influence in schools;" both admirable, as it seems to us. They give strong evidence of what we consider rather an unusual combination in the author's character and writings, of the spiritual

and the practical, each balancing the other; and few can so carry their poetry into prose without spoiling the latter, at least. There is no more exciting moral spectacle than a fine imagination bridled by a sound judgment, both exercised conscientiously and vigorously in the cause of religion.

The Essays on the "Influences of Home," the "Culture of the Imagination," and the "Love of Nature," have the characteristics just referred to; and the second contains some particularly valuable suggestions. We do not think the vivid imaginations of children have been used as they might. The understanding, the affections, and above all, the quick memory of childhood, have been appreciated, employed, and carefully trained; while the imagination, so lively, fertile, and busy in most children, has been often idly admired, totally neglected, or checked as much as possible. Observation of its tendencies and capabilities show us that it must affect the process of education, do what we will. We cannot quench it, if we would; but we may so train it as to enlist its activity in aid of all else that is good in the child's nature or our own instructions. Not one of the faculties requires more judgment and discrimination in management. A wrong bias early given to the imagination, or undue preponderance allowed, will surely affect the whole future character of the individual, and of course his happiness. It seems to us that Mr. Waterston views this wonderful power rightly, and counsels wisely.

The last piece, on the "Death of Children," will go to the heart of every parent who reads it, and not of parents only. There is a principle in human nature which it will reach, a deep-seated sympathy with all holy affections, which such an eloquent appeal must touch. We cannot refrain from quoting one or two of the reflections.

"If, then, a child is taken away and others are left, it throws a degree of sanctity around those who remain. They are not simply connected with this world, but with another. One has gone, and they also may go. This idea makes every child a monitor pointing to the spiritual world, and unless parents are insensible to spiritual things, they will, by these means, have their faith strengthened, and their thoughts often led to the home of the soul. But even if the parent does not lose a child, the fact that children may and do die, tends to call out the affections. If it were a fact, that no child had ever been known to die, all children would be looked upon as future men and women. But now there is uncertainty, there are vague possibilities, and the present is valued the more, because the future is unknown. Fear makes Hope more beautiful."— p. 289.

It may possibly be inferred from the strain of our remarks,

that this work can be of use to few, except those actually engaged in the business of instructing their own children, or those of others; but such is not the case. The spirit of the whole work may be imbibed profitably by any reader; and many of the suggestions and exhortations may reach the consciences or help the self-culture of all. With regard to teaching teachers, we fully agree with Mr. Waterston, that, after all, —“each must judge for himself, and every one must have plans growing out of his own nature. Mr. Abbott may keep the best school, and he may write the best book; but if any man takes Mr. Abbott's book without Mr. Abbott's spirit, he will not keep a school like Mr. Abbott, though he follow the rules ever so strictly.” These remarks may apply with no little force to Sunday-school teachers, now a large, important, influential class in the community. We have been much interested in Mr. Waterston's remarks with reference to them particularly. Excellent as the Sunday-school system is, we are aware of its imperfections, its dubious features, its need of improvement. There should be liberty there, if anywhere on earth; but there license would be fearful. As yet much is undefined and unregulated. The precise relation and degree of authority, — influence, we should perhaps say, — of the pastor, the most essential requisites of a teacher, the proper means of excluding improper teachers, many such questions are yet open for discussion.

We have left ourselves no room to speak of the short poems scattered through the volume, except to express the pleasure they have given us. The piece on Autumn has in it some lines of uncommon descriptive beauty, and breathe the very spirit of lovely, pensive October, which to the thoughtful and imaginative always asks of the past, as May does of the future.

We give our author a grateful welcome. God speed him in the closet, and in that walk which he has chosen. None need more the true spirit of Christ, or have better opportunities of imitating his life, than those who literally make it their calling to “go about doing good.” If any doubt whether the world be really growing better as it grows older, to what shall we point more readily than to this young institution, the Ministry at Large?

The New Hampshire Book: Being Specimens of the Literature of the Granite State. Nashua: 1842. 12mo. pp. 391.

THIS beautiful volume must not only be interesting to the sons and daughters of New Hampshire, to whom it is inscribed,
VOL. XXXII. — 3D S. VOL. XIV. NO. I. 17

but to all who are interested in American literature, and fond of tracing the connexion between talent and the places and circumstances of its development.

One is surprised, in looking over the contents of this book, at the number of distinguished men who are natives of the Granite State. Among the names eminent in politics and law, we find those of Webster, Cass, Woodbury, Mason, Pierce, Hubbard, Richardson, Parker, Wilson, Smith, Haines, Atherton, Appleton, Sullivan. Still more remarkable is the number of prominent clergymen. Among the Orthodox clergy we find that Payson, Jesse Appleton, Worcester, Emerson, Chase, Ladd, and many others, are natives of New Hampshire. And our own denomination is still more indebted to that State, considering our relative numbers. Buckminster, the Peabodys, the Abbotts, Burnap, Morrison, Livermore, Burton, Haven, are familiar names to many of our readers, who may not be aware of the land of their origin. We observe, moreover, that some of the leading men in the Universalist denomination are from New Hampshire, such as Ballou, Skinner, Balch, Adams, etc.

The poetry in this volume is of a character that has surprised not a few. Mrs. Hale, Mrs. Daniels, Mrs. Thornton, Mrs. Orne, Mrs. Barnes, the Peabodys, Wilcox, Tappan, Carter, Moore, Dinsmoor, Haven, Fessenden, French, Greeley, Hale, Hildreth, Fields, Upham, are names sufficient to prove that the muses have not lost their old fondness for a mountain home.

Perhaps the book might have been made more interesting to the general reader, if it contained fewer allusions to State history and localities. But this very feature gives it chief interest in the minds of those to whom it is particularly addressed. It would have been decidedly more interesting and valuable, we think, if the editors had confined themselves to a more select circle of names. It can never be worth while to draw from *all* who, in one of our Eastern States, have perhaps committed the fault of writing. Nay,—for our writers are bidding fair to outnumber our readers,—it must be necessary to stop far short of this large number. The best rule, we think, would be, therefore, to make the compilation of a *good* volume the main object in any enterprise of this kind, and select accordingly from the best writers, rather than from the largest possible number.

Birth and early education the Editors have considered to constitute literary citizenship, and we think, justly. It would have been better not, in a single instance, to have departed from the rule.

The Editors, Charles J. Fox, Esq. and the Rev. Samuel Os-
good, of Nashua,—their names should have been on the

title page, — appear to have performed their work of research and selection with skill and fidelity. They have not only erected a handsome monument to the genius of their State, but have given a permanent form to many treasures of thought that else might have vanished from memory.

A Discourse Delivered on the Occasion of the Death of John Vaughan, in the First Congregational Unitarian Church, Sunday, January 16, 1842. By WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Pastor of the Church. With the Services at the Funeral. Philadelphia: J. Crissy. 1842. 8vo. pp. 32.

IN the death of Mr. Vaughan, not only circles of friends larger and smaller, in the city of Philadelphia, have met with a loss not soon, if ever, to be repaired, but persons at a distance, in every part of our country, and may it not be added, in every part of the world. Scarce any one, entitled on any ground to his acquaintance, ever visited Philadelphia, without receiving from him the most hospitable attention, or acts of substantial kindness, which could never be forgotten, and which connected agreeable sentiments and recollections forever after with the very name of the city he so distinguished by his residence. And if he ever thought or spoke of that place afterwards, as the city of "brotherly love," it was the image of Mr. Vaughan, quite as much as that of Penn, or any modern "Friend," that suggested the association. No one, who happened to be present at the funeral services of this good man, could have failed to be struck with the universal signs of grief upon the faces of a densely crowded congregation. It was as if each one there present had come to bewail the loss of a near relative or personal friend, cut off unexpectedly in the prime of life, instead of an old man of more than fourscore, "whose time it was to die." But it was only by an effort that they, who saw him familiarly from day to day, could, — so they declare, — associate ideas of decay and death with him; there was such elasticity and life in his movement, such ardor and youthful freshness in his feelings and affections. His death was felt as that of a young man.

The pamphlet before us consists of the funeral services performed at the Unitarian Church, on Sunday, the 2d of January, and a discourse delivered in the same place, on the morning of the 16th, — all beautiful and impressive. We select a few paragraphs, that we may preserve in our pages some slight memorial of so excellent a man.

"Mr. Vaughan's childhood was passed under singularly good influences. The character of his parents is seen in their children, and in old age he was accustomed to attribute whatever there was of good in his views and habits of life to their instructions, which he took delight in repeating. Dr. Price, one of the most distinguished dissenting divines of his day, was the pastor upon whose instructions his family attended; and Mrs. Barbauld, second to none of the female authors of recent times, in the beauty of her writings, was one of his early teachers. The force of the impressions then made on him was visible in his whole character, but especially in his fidelity to the liberal, but then and still unpopular, form of faith, in which he had been brought up by those enlightened and excellent instructors. He came hither in 1782, and was soon in habits of familiar intercourse with the most distinguished persons of the time. Early after the formation of this religious society, which took place in 1796, he connected himself with it, and, mingling as he did in all circles, he shrunk not from bearing the unfashionable name of a Unitarian. He was prompt and zealous in furthering the interests of the infant church, and for more than eight years shared with others the labors of the pulpit. He never obtruded his faith on those who differed from him. He appeared in social intercourse only to recognise our common humanity, and was rejoiced to labor for a good object with good men of any persuasion. By forgetting doctrinal distinctions, he made others forget, despite their sectarianism, that he was a heretic. And yet he did not permit his faith to be denounced. He was always ready with a reason to answer the ignorant and the bigoted." — pp. 10, 11.

"Although no man ever valued money less for its own sake, although he went before all others in the liberality with which he gave, — so that his example seemed to lose effect from its singularity, — yet Mr. Vaughan loved best to furnish the destitute, not with money, but with employment; and with this object, there is no trouble that he would not take, no distance that he would not go, no hour of the day or the night which he would not use for the humblest applicant for his assistance. And all this was accompanied with habitual self-forgetfulness. Accustomed to all the comforts and to the luxuries of life, his habits were simple, and his personal accommodations were of the homeliest kind. For years, after long and useful days he threw himself down at night upon a humble cot, and thought of nothing beyond the necessary means of repose. And with the sun, or before it, he was up again, intent upon his benevolent purposes, and perhaps knocking at the doors of his wealthy friends, arousing their drowsy households with his charitable applications." — p. 12.

"Is any one curious to know about his religion? It was in his life. He lived in it, and it in him. For the religion of Mr. Vaughan, you must look upon Mr. Vaughan himself, — upon what he was. He could not talk about religion, but he could show us, and he has shown us how to live in it. Words are imposing, but they are cheap and easy, and the true kingdom of God in the soul, as an apostle hath declared, 'is not in word but in power,' in the simple native force of an active, well spent life, in the power of benevolence, in the energy of virtue. Such power our venerated friend has exhibited. We have all seen in what his happiness lay, what his heaven was. That heaven he has

carried with him. It is built out of the elements of his character, at the very centre of his being, and it is wholly out of our power to conceive of him as taking pleasure, save in active, unwearied usefulness, in offices of kindness, in deeds of charity and love." — pp. 29, 30.

Memoir of Elder Abner Jones. By his Son, A. D. JONES.
Boston : Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 215.

MR. JONES has done well to place upon record the life and character of his father; for he was one of those good, and, why should we not add, one of those remarkable men, whose memory ought not to be suffered to perish. To those who knew him this volume must prove a welcome offering; and to those who knew him not it will present one more example of a man, in whom there was no guile, who knew not the meaning of the word selfishness, whose religion was seen, not in words and profession only, but in a devotion to the feeling of duty, and to what he believed to be the will of God, so hearty and so sincere, that it was to him the very breath of his life. He was an original man. The religion he advocated and preached, as far as it was a system of opinion, he formed for himself, from his study of the New Testament. And when he went forth to preach what he believed, with a full heart, he went not in the name of any sect, nor commissioned by any school or college, but on his own authority, in the strength of his own faith, to proclaim it to whomsoever would hear. All the early circumstances of his life were unpropitious, not to the growth of the *sentiment* of religion, for his father was a pious and virtuous man, but to his enjoying any of those advantages of education, thought essential to a preparation for the calling to which he ultimately devoted himself. His youth was passed in the back-woods of Vermont, where there were neither schools, nor churches, nor hardly inhabitants, and the solitude only now and then enlivened by the appearance of a travelling pedler or preacher. He early became religious under the influences of his parents, and the occasional preacher; and passed through those experiences, which, whatever name we give them, seem to mark the time when religion establishes itself in the soul. We cannot follow his course minutely. Till he was nineteen years of age he lived at home, then, teaching school a single year, he abandoned that employment for a physician's, for which he seems to have fitted himself by private study of such books as he could procure, all the while, however, urged from within to become a preacher of the Gospel. For two years he resisted this inward summons, and practised his profession with reputation and success. At the end of that period he could resist no longer,

but suddenly threw up a lucrative business to devote himself to the life of a Christian Minister. He was at first, and through his life afterwards, esteemed as an interesting and persuasive preacher.

The great distinction claimed for him by his biographer is, his independence of thought and opinion, and his laying the foundations of the so called "Christian Church," which now has its societies spread over the Union, and all of which, as is well known, are Unitarian in opinion. "From the first," he says, "Elder Jones announced his determination to stand alone, and acknowledge the authority of no church or set of men. He and about a dozen others, laymen, and residents of Lyndon, covenanted together in church form, and called themselves CHRISTIANS; rejecting all party and sectional names, and leaving each other free to cherish such speculative views of theology, as the scriptures might plainly seem to them to teach. This was probably, the *first* FREE CHRISTIAN Church ever established in New England." His life, as a preacher, was one of poverty, incessant labor, and frequent change of residence. But his reason for abandoning one church for another was not, in a single instance, that the one to which he removed was more prosperous and its rewards greater, but, on the contrary, that it was less so and its rewards less, in the hope that by a true devotion of his best powers to its service he might revive and establish it. In this manner he recovered several decaying or dying churches. It would be difficult to find, in the modern annals of any denomination of Christians, an example of a more single-minded, conscientious, disinterested man, one who in all his labors thought less of himself and more of the cause he had at heart. His sphere was what is called a humble one; but whatever it was in itself, he made it great and honorable by his industry, his spirit of self-devotion, his contentedness, and his piety. Although of an inquisitive mind, and a great reader, always, as he says, curious to know what the next leaf of a book he should turn over would reveal, yet he seems to have been strangely insusceptible of the refining effects books usually have on those who are conversant with them. His style was that of an uncultivated man to the last. With more of the power which tolerable literary skill confers, his good influence would have extended farther and deeper while he lived, and would not have been lost when he died. His memoirs, well drawn up by his son, are worth reading, if on no other account, for the glimpses they give of one of the simple, primitive forms of our country life. But they may be read with profit for higher and better reasons.

An Offering of Sympathy to the Afflicted; especially to Parents bereaved of their Children. Being a Collection from Manuscripts never before published. With an Appendix of Extracts from various Authors. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Third Edition. Boston: Munroe & Co. London: J. Green. 1842.

"THE Offering of Sympathy," Mrs. Follen's "Selections from Fenelon," and the "Formation of the Christian Character," are the books which ordinarily a clergyman makes most use of as gifts in his congregation, and to the young. We are not surprised that Dr. Parkman's excellent little volume has reached a third edition. It has carried comfort to many a heart. We wish it well on its errand of peace. The present edition it will be observed is an enlarged one. "The plan," says the author, "has been somewhat extended; and with some connexion and improvement of the former, will be found an original article by a friend, and some additional selections in the appendix adapted to the wants of the sorrowful of all descriptions."

Discourses on Human Life. By ORVILLE DEWEY, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, in New-York. New-York: Published by David Felt & Co. 1841. 12mo. pp. 299.

THESE discourses on human life are worthy of being placed by the side of the volumes that have preceded them from the same author. They are perhaps more universally interesting in their topics than either of the others. All who love wisdom and truth, clothed in the attractive charms of eloquent speech, will be eager to possess and read them. Some of the topics are, The Moral Significance of Life, Life is what we make it, On Inequality in the Lot of Life, On the School of Life, Life's Consolations in the view of Death, On the Religion of Life, &c.; eighteen discourses in all. We do not intend that the present brief notice shall preclude us from an extended review of these discourses hereafter; and we cannot but express our hope, that another occasion for recurring to them will be furnished by a second edition in some more comely shape. In the present instance, the publisher has by no means done justice to the great worth of the book. So much beauty within should have been recommended by some beauty without. We are confident the work would meet with a much wider sale, were it more attractive in its form. Mere policy would seem to dictate a tasteful exterior. We should like to see a uniform edition of Mr. Dewey's Sermons in a form as neat, nay as elegant, as the press can give.

The Object of the Ministry. A Sermon preached at the Installation of Rev. Samuel Osgood, as Pastor of the Westminster Congregational Church, in Providence, December 29, 1841. By EPHRAIM PEABODY. Providence: B. Cranston. 1842.

THIS pamphlet, beside the Sermon of Mr. Peabody, contains the Charge by Mr. Folsom, the Right Hand of Fellowship by Mr. Simmons, and the Address to the People by Mr. Thompson, of Salem. Together, they may be commended as a model of what these services at an ordination should be. It cannot be often that services, prepared without previous concert, should so perfectly harmonize in their spirit and aim. They all, one as well and as much as another, breathe the deep seriousness that becomes such an occasion. They all are concerned with themes of infinitely more moment, and we believe always more interesting to a listening people, than the topics which formerly and usually it has been one's misfortune to hear discussed at such times. If ever there be a distinct propriety in presenting to an audience subjects that shall possess a universal interest, that shall appeal to feelings and affections common to all who hear, that shall raise no angry emotion, but tend to disclose new grounds of agreement and love, it is at an ordination of a young man as a preacher of the Gospel of peace and good will. That there may have been formerly a propriety and advantage in pursuing an opposite course, we would not hastily deny; but we can see neither advantage nor propriety in continuing the practice at the present day. At an ordination we hope never again to hear discussed, either the points of difference between the Unitarian and the Trinitarian, or between different portions of the Unitarian body itself. New school and old school, reform and conservatism, bigotry to the old and bigotry to the new, — all this and the like grate harsh music to the ear and the spirit. It seems to be a time and occasion for union at all points where it can possibly take place, rather than for probing, or even touching the sore spots of division and difference, — a time, in a word, for music rather than discord, for communion rather than antagonism. The services at the installation of Mr. Osgood were just such as we would have them always to be. They are all concerned with the deep things of the spirit and the life; leaving far behind, as if they did not exist, the husks and the chaff, the beggarly elements of controverted doctrine. These things, great in their way, are rightly left to the review, the tract, and the set occasion.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MAY, 1842.

ART. I. — *The Authority of Jesus Christ, as a Religious Teacher.*

WE should think it a sad thing, here and now, in a community professedly Christian, and in the middle of the nineteenth century, to feel obliged to say a word in vindication of the Divine authority of Jesus Christ, as a Religious Instructor, if we did not believe that it is a part of the system of Divine Providence, to permit, from time to time, objections and cavils against all revealed truth to be made, that thereby, this truth, by calling forth the efforts of its friends, should be the more fully and clearly established. As the atmosphere is purified by its storms, as the sea is kept healthful by its perpetual motion, as genuine principle is fortified by opposition, and as all that is real in character is strengthened by trial; so we find the "Truth as it is in Jesus," in every stage of its progress, has been more firmly established, through the blind instrumentality of those who wittingly or unwittingly assail it. Irksome, then, as it may be to state anew positions that have been taken as established for ages, by the wisest and best men who have illustrated our common nature, and to reply again to objections which have been refuted a hundred times over, it is a task from which the Christian advocate should not shrink; and he is cheered in the unwilling labor by the assurance, that if he be faithful to the precious truth with which he is intrusted, he need not fear for the result.

It is also to be remarked, that it is incidental to the full enjoyment of the privilege of free discussion, that speculation should often run wild; that first principles should be continually called in question; that nothing should ever be

considered as established ; that those who are not well informed should not be fully aware, that what seems original to them is quite stale to others ; that some persons of an imaginative and dreamy turn of mind, and possessing small powers of ratiocination, should mistake resemblances for sequences, sparkling fragments of thought for argument, and fanciful and picturesque phraseology for eloquent discussion ; and that others, reckless, ambitious of notoriety, or smitten with the love of change, should aim at disturbing the time-hallowed foundations of human belief, and while

“ Most ignorant of what is most assured,

Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep.”——

All this must be borne, for it is the price that must be paid for the inestimable boon of free utterance. It is to be regarded as a part of that exquisite system of compensations, which pervades the whole system of Divine Providence, by which throughout, “ God hath set the one over against the other.”

It is further to be remembered that in the same providence of God ; it is only by the struggle of opinion with opinion, argument with argument, system with system, mind with mind, that the truth can be elicited. To see it in its entirety and purity is the prerogative of God alone. While, then, in the inquiry before us, we intend, in all plainness and directness, to present those views which seem to us to be true and just, we are deeply conscious of our need of further light ; and while we may feel constrained to refer to what appear to us gross and mischievous mistakes, it will be with no intentionally unkind allusion to those who hold them ; and it is our most earnest and sincere prayer, that from the conflict of opinions on this, and on all subjects, a light may be stricken out purer and clearer than is now enjoyed by the advocates of any.

In endeavoring to ascertain the nature and degree of the authority that belongs to Jesus Christ, as a Religious Teacher, we shall confine ourselves, in this paper, to his own declarations, and to those of his immediate disciples and apostles, in their own unquestioned words, as recorded in the books of the New Testament. If any think that they have a higher source of information than this, and one through whose aid they may sit in judgment over it and reverse it, the experiment and the re-

sponsibility are *theirs* ; the clear and undisputed language of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his own accredited apostles, is decisive with *us*. When we wish to know who and what this Teacher was, it is enough for us, to sit like Mary at his feet, and "hear his words." If we are sure that the words are really his,—and of this, in the inquiry before us, there is no question,—then we must take them in their true and full import, unless we are willing to impute to him one of two shocking charges ; either, first, that of *self-deception*, or, second, that of an attempt to *deceive others*. At any rate, we say, that we "have not so learned Christ," and that we shrink with horror from both parts of the alternative.

The inquiry, then, is plainly before us, —What does the unquestioned language of Jesus, and that of his earliest followers, who were taught by him, teach us concerning the nature and degree of his authority, as a Religious Teacher ?

It teaches, we reply, according to our best apprehension of it, that Jesus Christ fulfils, in this relation, an office that has been committed to no other being. He claims to speak on the direct authority of the Infinite and Eternal God. This, we say, he claims, not only as his high prerogative, but as his *peculiar* and *distinctive* prerogative. Other teachers may be wise to know, and skilled to instruct, and powerful to persuade ; but strictly speaking, they possess no *authority*. Their counsels may be judicious, their exhortations powerful, their appeals subduing ; but they must rest entirely on their inherent force, and of this every individual who receives them must judge for himself. But Jesus claims, and it is claimed for him by those who were personally taught by him, to be heard on an authority above and beyond all this, on an authority above and beyond that which belongs to any other individual, however gifted, however in advance of his species, however distinguished above his fellows in any respect ; namely, *on the express and specially delegated authority of none less, and none other, than the Infinite and Eternal God*. When we listen to the seers and sages of ancient or of modern times, we may be interested, instructed, delighted ; we may yield to that potent sway which genius always wields ; we may rejoice that such lights are cast upon our pilgrim path in life ; —but still we justly claim the right which belongs to us as equal, though humbler, fellow men, to weigh their claims ; to estimate the value of their instructions ; to receive or reject their counsels ; to ac-

cept or refuse their direction. But when Christ appears, he "speaks as one having authority," and not as these scribes. Before his presence all other instructors retire immeasurably into the back-ground. He claims to speak "as never man spake;" with an authority, as we have said, above and beyond all others; with an authority before which all lettered accomplishments are worthless, all human wisdom bows in deference, and all merely human authority stands abashed. If we admit his claims, we must receive his instructions with a child-like docility, his precepts with grateful acquiescence, his assurances with an implicit faith, his commands with an unquestioning obedience. Coming, as we thus believe he did, in a high and peculiar sense, from God; commissioned, as we thus believe he was, by God; and speaking, as we believe he spoke, on the express authority of God; we receive his words *as* the words of God, and of none other *than* God.

As this, then, is the great point to be established, we now proceed to adduce a sketch of the evidence by which it is supported.

And here we may first observe, that the infallible and distinctive authority of the teachings of Jesus is inferable from the high and peculiar relations in reference to men, which are ascribed to him in the Christian Scriptures. Thus our Saviour says of himself,* "all power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." If this be restricted, as it doubtless should be, to the great objects of his mission, certainly *teaching* must be included among them, since this was one of the component and very important parts of this mission. So, too, Teaching, in like manner, is included in certain other of these high and peculiar relations. Thus, for example, he is revealed to us as a Saviour. "I am come," said he, "to seek and *save* that which was lost." Now so far as a salvation from ignorance and error was included in this assurance, and it enters essentially into the very idea of it, it must be wrought through the means of the infallible authority of his teaching. Again, he is revealed to us as our Master and Lord. Thus, said he, "One is your *master*, even Christ." And so far as teaching important

* The passages of Scripture, which we shall cite throughout this argument, are so familiar, that we shall take leave to excuse ourselves and the printer from referring to chapter and verse.

truth is connected with this relation, and it plainly makes a very important part of it, so far Jesus claims for his teaching an authoritative character. From this reference, slight as it is, to the authority which is thus in general terms ascribed to him, and to that which he asserts over his followers in certain high relations, it is obvious that his instructions come to his followers fraught with an imperative and distinctive authority. His directions in every part of doctrine and duty are to be implicitly followed by them, *because* they are his. However strict or burdensome they may appear to us, his disciples, we have no alternative left, but that of obedience, or disobedience. And in like manner his declarations respecting our spiritual well-being are to be received with fullest confidence, *because they are his*. However strange they may seem to us, however foreign from our accustomed habits of thought, we have no choice remaining, but to receive, or reject them. There is no other alternative.

But we are not left to infer the authoritative character of the teachings of Jesus from the relations in which he is revealed as holding towards man. We have in addition to this his *direct assertions*. These are very numerous; but it must suffice to quote a few; and it is obvious that any single one, that is explicit, is decisive of the question at issue. Thus Jesus tells the Jews,—“my doctrine is *not mine*, but *his* that sent me.” Again, “as my *Father has taught me*, I speak these things.” Again, “I *have not spoken of myself*; but the Father which sent me, *he gave me commandment* what I should say, and what I should speak; whatsoever I speak, therefore, even as the *Father said unto me*, so I speak.” And once again, for it cannot be necessary to multiply quotations to the same effect, “the words I speak unto you, *I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me* ;” and in the same connexion he says, “the word which ye hear is *not mine, but the Father’s* which sent me.” The plain import of all this is, we scarcely need to observe, that Jesus, disavowing all merely personal authority as a teacher, *claims to be heard on the ground of a special inspiration, and direct commission from Almighty God*.

We next observe, that the *manner* of Christ’s teaching is in perfect keeping, or agreement with this high claim. This manner is very peculiar. It is distinctively his own. He relies not on any of the usual modes of instruction, or of moral suasion. There

is no formal annunciation of the object of his discourse; no regular plan pursued; no anticipation of objections; no preparation to conciliate a favorable hearing; no cautious annunciation of positions and facts; no clearing away of objections; no array of arguments; no wary compromise with known prejudices; no appeal to the sympathies, or passions of his hearers;—but he simply delivers his message, claims for it an unquestioning reception, as the very truth of God, leaves it to make its own way to the minds and hearts of his hearers, and calls upon them to receive or reject it, at their own proper peril. His language is, “it was said by them of old time,” referring to Moses and the Prophets, “thou shalt not kill”; but “I say unto you,”—a very different thing,—I propound a much more accurate and high-toned system of duty; thus claiming to be superior to the most favored servants of God in former ages. So it is throughout. He demands to be heard, not on account of his wisdom, not on account of his acquisitions, not on account of his experience in affairs, not on account of his power of persuasion;—but simply on the ground, that he came from God, and was authorized to speak, *as God*, to men. How sublime, how entirely in keeping with the high commission he claimed was this! It reminds us of the more direct utterance of the Eternal One, at the creation of the world, when he said, “Light be, and light was.”

In further confirmation of this remarkable and distinctive trait in the teaching of Christ, we observe that the *impression* obviously made on the minds of his hearers was that of power, *superhuman power*. “And it came to pass,” in the language of the Evangelist, at the close of Christ’s Sermon on the mount, “the people were astonished at his doctrine.” And why? Because “he taught them as one having *authority*, and not as the Scribes.” That is, he taught them as one to whom not only the *interpretation* of the law was committed, but as one to whom the *enacting* of it had been entrusted; or, at least, as one whose expositions were authoritative. Well might they, who had been accustomed to hear nothing better than the idle disputes of the Scribes and Pharisees, concerning the outward rites and ceremonies of their law, “be astonished” at the simple grandeur of Christ’s teachings, and their irresistible power to move, to persuade, to bend their minds to obedience. Again, at the village of Nazareth, “where he had been brought up,” the very last place on earth where any one may

look for an *over*-favorable hearing, there and then, all, even his familiar associates and neighbors, "bore him witness, and wondered at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth." "The gracious words," that is, the words so fitting and persuasive, so moving and powerful, that his hearers were willing to escape from their potent influence, by referring to the supposed humble origin of him from whom they proceeded; for they asked, "is not this Joseph's, the Carpenter's son?" Again, they at Galilee, according to Luke, "were astonished at his doctrine, for his word was with power." And, to quote one more example, when Judas, having received a band of men and officers, who went to apprehend him, as a felon, on the last dreadful night of his life on earth, "with lanterns and torches and weapons," and he, knowing their errand and anticipating their approach, went forth to meet them, and said, "I am he;" they—that is, these official tools of the public authority, these officers and soldiers, whose trade was in blood, and whose whole duty was an implicit obedience,—shrunk from the majesty and power of his address, and "went back and fell to the ground." And in like manner, too, when the Pharisees and Chief Priests, alarmed at his growing ascendancy in the minds of the people, "sent officers to take him," and they having returned with their errand unaccomplished, were impliedly rebuked by the question, "why have ye not brought him?" their only excuse was, the overpowering mastery of his words; "never," said they, "man spake like this man."

But whence came this authority, and why was the claim allowed? Jesus Christ was, as to his whole appearance, a mere man, a very humble man, one destitute of all rank, standing, and influence in society, with no peculiar accomplishments or address, with no previous reputation to conciliate attention, with no array of followers to enforce his claims, with no earthly advantages of any kind to advance or secure his influence. How, then, shall we account for the peculiar authority of his teachings, an authority which he wielded with such resistless power, and which was thus willingly or unwillingly accorded to him? Well might his neighbors and townsmen ask, "Is not this the Carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joses and Simon and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things?" Whence, indeed? What account shall be given of this phenomenon? It cannot be explain-

ed on any of the ordinarily known principles which operate upon the human mind. Jesus himself gives us the reply, and it is the only sufficient one. It is that alone which meets all the circumstances of the case. It is that, at any rate, which his professed followers are bound to accept. And the answer is none other than was intimated by him in his reply to his townsmen, in which he refers to his prophetic character, and which, in numerous places elsewhere, he distinctly states, namely, that of *miraculous works*; works which none could do, unless God were with him, and which were the divine seal, visible to all men, that his mission and his message were divine.

This brings us to the fourth position, in reference to the authority of Christ as a Teacher, which we distinctly and avowedly take, namely, that he rested this high and distinctive authority on those miraculous works, which "none other man did." Here, as in the other parts of the argument, we must confine ourselves to the selection of a few passages out of many, only observing here again, that any one, that is distinct and explicit from the lips of the Saviour, is as available in proof of the point at issue, as would be a thousand. Thus Jesus virtually asserted his miracles to be a proof of his divine commission, by assenting to the observation of Nicodemus. "We know," said the latter, "that thou art a teacher sent from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, unless God be with him." Again, when John, who was in prison, "had heard of the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, art thou he who should come;" (that is, the Messiah expected by the Jews.) "or do we look for another?" Jesus made no direct reply, in words, to the inquiry, but simply answered, "Go and show John those *things* which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them." Again, said Jesus to the Jews, who were asking for proof of his Messiahship, after proof enough, as it should seem, had been given, "I told you, and ye believed not, the *works* that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." Again, he says to them in answer to their cavils "if I do not the *works* of my Father," that is, the works which none but the Father, as the real agent can do, works, which therefore authenticate my Divine commission, if I do not these works, "believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works, that ye may know and be-

lieve that the Father is in me, and I in him." And once more, and what can be more decisive than this? he said to his disciples, in his parting words to them, and in reference to the Jews who rejected him, "If I had not done among them the *works*, which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father." We close these citations here, because, if they be not sufficient to prove that Christ distinctly and emphatically appealed to his miracles in authentication of his divine authority, as a teacher sent of God, we know of no language that can do so; and with no unkind reference to the motives of others, we must say, that we cannot conceive of the state of mind of those, who can read the language of the Saviour on this point, and yet be led to any other conclusion.

We have thus seen that Christ *claimed to speak on the delegated authority*, and by the *direct inspiration of Almighty God*; that his *manner of Teaching* was in entire consonance and in perfect keeping with the character of one thus divinely commissioned and inspired; that the immediate *effects* produced on the minds of those, who received his instructions, were precisely such as were naturally to be expected from such a Teacher, and from such a teaching. We have used in this statement, it will be observed, the literal, the undisputed language of the Gospel record, and quoted none other than the very words of Jesus, and those of his immediate followers and cotemporaries, in regard to his claims. And what now is the result of the inquiry? It is, as was intimated at the commencement of these remarks, plainly and irresistibly this;—He is to be received, as a divinely inspired and a miraculously endowed Teacher of man in religious truth and duty, or he is to be rejected, as one who was deceived himself, or was designedly attempting to deceive others. There is nothing but this fearful alternative left. He was *self-deceived*, or he was a *deceiver*. But we cannot stop here. The former part of this dilemma cannot be entertained for a moment. He *must have known* whereof he affirmed. He *must have known*, whether or not he held high, intimate, and peculiar communion with God. And he *must have known* especially, whether or not, when he spoke to the tempests, they obeyed his bidding; whether or not diseases fled at his touch; whether or not the dead rose to life at his command. He could not certainly be deceived in this; and the fearful alternative is, therefore, yet fur-

ther reduced to this more shocking form ; — *Christ is to be received as a divinely commissioned Instructor of men, or he was a DECEIVER.* This is the simple issue that must be fairly met. There is no escaping from it. There is no middle ground where the inquirer can stand. If the Gospel Record be received as essentially true, — and concerning this there can be no doubt with those, who claim to be Christians in any intelligible sense of the word, and we are not dealing here with avowed infidels and scoffers ; — if the words and deeds of Jesus and his immediate followers, as recorded in the Gospel, be authentic, then we must take these as they are, and abide the issue. General reasoning is out of place here ; vague philosophizing is out of place here ; shreds and filaments of thought, however showy, are out of place here ; above all, the childish achievement of attempting to pull down the fabric of acknowledged truth, without substituting anything in its stead ; the poor triumph of questioning what the many believe ; a desultory but reckless warfare on that loyal Faith, which myriads cherish in their inmost souls, as a priceless boon ; a partial, bold, misty, self-idolizing speculation ; — all these are wholly out of place here. The simple, naked, intelligible question is this, and only this ; — Is Christ to be believed, on his own assertion, when he claims to be a divinely commissioned, and miraculously endowed, and therefore *AUTHORITATIVE INSTRUCTOR* ; or has he attempted to play off upon the world, in asserting this claim, an *elaborate DECEPTION, a premeditated FALSEHOOD* ?

But why are men impatient of Authority in matters of religious belief ? The deep foundation, that is laid for this in the very constitution of the human soul, has already been shown in a recent paper * in this Journal ; to which, as it emanated from a different source than the present one, we may be permitted to refer, as an eminently just and philosophical view of the subject. But there are some *practical uses* subserved by this authority, to which we would now briefly advert.

And, first, it is necessary to authenticate and give efficacy to the instructions of Jesus. In stating, above, his claims in this respect, we have, necessarily, anticipated this thought. But it requires to be more distinctly considered. Suppose, then, in further illustration of it, that Christ were divested of his high

* No. 108. Art. VI.

and peculiar commission, as a Teacher sent from God, but endowed with the highest gifts of intellect that have ever belonged to any human creature ; nay, suppose that his mind, like the ancient artist's model of beauty, were composed of "nature's best," in the best of all other minds, which have ever existed, but unaided by any supernatural light ; still he could not speak to man, "as one having authority," in any proper sense of the term. Suppose, yet further, the impossible fact, that there could be collected, from the various ages and climes of the world, a series of precepts of equal value with those of the Gospel ; suppose, yet again, that this system should be recommended by the names of all the illustrious philosophers and moralists, who have ever existed, and that they all should lend their concentrated weight of character to give it currency among men ; yet all this would add nothing to its authority, in the strict sense of the word. It would give to it not a tittle of obligation, as a rule of life. It would be still competent for every man, to whom it should be offered, to accept or to reject it, in whole or in part, as he pleased, and as it might happen to suit his own peculiar prejudices, passions, or caprices. High as the names might be, by which it were recommended, they would still be human names ; and being human, could possess, strictly speaking, no authority over human creatures like its authors. The stream could never rise higher than its source. It might take its origin at the way-side, or in a hillock, or in a mountain, but never in heaven. The counsels thus offered for our guidance might be good, profitable, transcendently wise counsels ; but still they would be the counsels of mere fallible men, and being such, they would possess no inherent authority. They must pass for what they are worth, and no more ; and of this every man must judge for himself ; so that, after all, virtually and in fact, in point of authority, obligation, and binding force, they are nothing worth. And to all this, add one supposition more ;—that the imaginary Teacher, whom, to illustrate the position we have taken, we have created, should profess, as Jesus really did, to resolve doubts, under whose cold pressure the world had groaned for thousands of years, and to reveal, as he in fact did, truths concerning God and his government, which are of the deepest and most concerning interest to man, and for the knowledge of which the human soul has ever been athirst ; still the question would be, on the part of the hearer or recipient, as it was in fact addressed to

Christ himself, "by what authority doest thou these things?" How is it that this light has dawned upon thy mind? "Whence has this man this wisdom?" "What sign showest thou, that we may see it and believe thee? How comes it to pass, that what has escaped the anxious research of all the gifted minds of all previous ages, is revealed to thee?" Is it not plain that men would doubt, and would have an indisputable right to doubt, any mere mortal man's claims, thus to speak of subjects, which the whole moral and intellectual history of man has shown to be beyond the reach of the unaided powers of the human mind?

And this necessity of authoritative teaching is greatly strengthened by the fact, that the instructions of Jesus, which constitute their *peculiarity*, such, for example, as our filial relation to God, his paternal care of man, the certainty of a future and retributory state, the promised return to prayer, the conditions of pardon for sin, were, as we have said, *direct assertions* on the part of Jesus. He does not urge them on the ground of their reasonableness, he does not depend for their reception on a course of argument and illustration from positions and facts, previously known or admitted; but he claims for them unconditional acceptance, entirely and exclusively on his own simple *assertion*. He claims, as we have seen, to be believed, solely on the ground of his authority, as a messenger from Almighty God. "As the Father hath taught me, I speak these things," is his continual language; and this claim he authenticates by referring to the divine seal of miraculous works. It was this *assertion* of Divine inspiration and guidance, thus enforced and established by super-human agency, in one word, it was this asserted authority of Jesus which gave to his instructions their vitality, influence, and effect. And it was this alone. If he had not thus spoken, and if he had not thus enforced what he spoke, his instructions would have fallen dead upon a perverse and bigoted people; they would have been ascribed to a wicked ambition, or to a brain-sick enthusiasm. Without this miraculous support, they would have been scarcely more permanent than the passing breeze which bore them to the ears of the hearers. Without this miraculous authentication, they would have been as evanescent, as were those of the false Christs who were crying, "Lo, here! and Lo, there!" Without this miraculous proof, they would have died away in the echo of his own dying groans. But because he *did* thus speak, and *did* thus authenticate his words by his works, they have sunk

into the hearts of millions ; they have been repeated, from age to age, as the words of God, in the glad voices of saints, confessors, and martyrs, even down to our times ; they have sounded, in an unearthly note, high and clear, above the confused noises of religious controversy, to which, through the blindness and perversity of his followers, they have given rise ; their message, like the inarticulate language of nature, that primal revelation of God to man, "has gone out through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world ;" and they are constantly fulfilling the Saviour's prophecy, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." Yes, reverently we say it, "facts are God Almighty's arguments ;" and such astounding facts as these miraculous attestations have told, are telling, and shall tell on, their own august story, establishing the believer, arresting the thoughtless, and confounding the gainsayer, unto the great consummation foretold in the glorious prophecy of holy Paul, "When Christ shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power: for he must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet."

But in addition to the fact, that such an authority, as Jesus claimed and vindicated, was necessary to authenticate his doctrine as divine, and give it a firm hold upon the minds of men, it is to be observed, what, indeed, has not unfrequently been stated before, that it is only by authority of some kind,—that is by authority considered as distinct from the ordinary methods of instruction by means of explanation, argument, persuasion,—that the minds of the great mass of men can be operated upon at all. They have not inclination, they have not, in many cases, the capacity, they have not leisure, they have not those habits of patient attention, which are pre-requisite to the full effect of instruction, through the mere instrumentality of moral suasion. This was especially true of the Jewish nation at the period of our Saviour's advent. Beside that hardness and insensibility to moral instruction, that belong to the general mind in all countries, they were prejudiced, especially, against the Saviour, on account of the utter blight he cast on their worldly and ambitious hopes in reference to their expected Messiah. Thus we find that his doctrines, even when enforced by his miraculous works, found small acceptance with them. These wonderful facts, which, being addressed to all their senses, they could not deny, instead of accepting and acknowledging as a divine seal of the reality of his mission, they ascribed, after the current notions of

their time, to the agency of evil spirits. And how little availing, how almost powerless are the ordinary modes of moral and religious instruction, is lamentably apparent in our own days. It is to be hoped, indeed, that so much honest and earnest effort, as is bestowed upon it, is not wholly thrown away ; but the results are anything but encouraging ; though it is urged on the ground of the authority of the Saviour, and on the sanctions that he revealed. We do not know, we would not undertake to say, but we think there is little reason to doubt, that, if the instructions of Christ were even now accompanied by the same palpable authentication of miracles which they originally had, they would have much effect on minds thoroughly worldly, that is, on the great mass of minds. "If they will not hear Moses and the prophets," said the Saviour, "neither would they hear, though one should rise from the dead." This, we are afraid, is as true now, as it was when Jesus uttered the words. Minds, thoroughly opposed to his authority, would ascribe such miraculous works to some occult agency, or to some imposition on the senses, or they would deny their efficacy in proof of a divine authority, or they would be too much engrossed by the "farm or the merchandise," or by some darling connexion or pursuit, or by some scheme of ambition, to give much attention to the subject ; or they would look to that "more convenient season," which never comes, to examine it ; and thus heaven and earth might be moved to arrest their attention, and all would be in vain. And if such be the small effects of moral and religious instruction, when thus enforced by the palpable presence of the "hand divine," when thus visibly authenticated by the presence of Almighty God ; how powerless must be such instructions, when deprived of all aids like these ? Do we not see then, here again, the absolute necessity of that divine authority, considered as distinct from mere argument and persuasion, which Jesus claimed and exercised, to give effect to his instructions on the great mass of men ?

We next observe, that by thus making those truths of religion, which are *peculiar* to the Gospel, to depend mainly on the authority of Jesus Christ, God pursues the same course that He employs in conveying the principal part of all other knowledge to man. He has made us to depend upon the confidence we place in others, howsoever it be created, for very much that we do, and know. This is the chief source of in-

formation in infancy and in childhood, and of those home-bred charities in consequence, that cheer and bless the filial and parental relation. What we can ascertain, of our own selves, to be true, makes but a small part of that knowledge upon which we must act in the whole conduct of after life. All else we do and *must* receive on the credit of others, that is, upon authority. Science is infinite ; but the human faculties are feeble and circumscribed. The range of things knowable is boundless, whilst the range of things known is a span. A world of undiscovered truths stretches out on all sides ; but the horizon, that bounds our view, shuts down in a narrow circle close around us. The most, that the best of us can do, is to learn and follow out some single track in life. Now it is a condition of this state of things, that we must depend, mainly, upon the assertions and pretensions of each other for information and guidance, in regard to everything that lies out of this track ; that is, upon authority, or upon the confidence we place in others. If we wish to trust our persons or our property at sea, we must *confide* in the master of the vessel, in his skill, firmness, and probity. He, too, again, must *confide* in the ability and care of those learned men, who have ascertained the ephemeris, and arranged the tables, and prescribed the rules by which he works his way along the untracked sea ; and what is this but believing and acting upon authority, considered as distinct from personal knowledge ? If we are sick, we are glad to place ourselves under the care of some practitioner of the healing art, though we know very little of that wondrous machine, the human body, and still less of the grounds and reasons of the curative processes that may be pursued. Still we trust implicitly to another's guidance. We deem him to be capable and honest, and this is enough. And what is this, again, but acting upon authority, in contradistinction to actual knowledge ? If we find it necessary to seek redress for an injury at the laws of the land, we must call in the aid of others, who are supposed to be skilled in the knowledge and application of these laws, since we want the requisite information to act for ourselves ; that is, we trust entirely to our apprehensions of the skill and faithfulness of others. And what is this, again, but acting upon authority, considered as distinct from any knowledge of our own ? All these persons, again, must, in like manner, trust, in a great degree, to the recorded experience of those who preceded them in their various professions ; and yet more implicitly to other

persons, in all those questions and interests, which lie out of their peculiar province.

Such is the condition of human life. We are so constituted and so situated in this world, that we must take much upon *trust*. We must have *faith* in each other. Without it the business and the intercourse of life must stop. The few gleams of light, which we can call our own, are not sufficient to direct us, and if we would pursue our way in safety, we must borrow and appropriate the light of others. We must depend on their trustworthiness ; on the confidence we place in them ; in one word, we must act upon authority, where and whensoever, and it is almost everywhere and always, that our own knowledge is deficient. Now it is just so in religion. Here, too, where our personal knowledge fails us, and it is at best but a glowworm's light, we must act on the guidance of other minds. All that we can do here, as in the common affairs of life, is to ascertain, as well as we can, the ability and probity of our guides, and then follow their leading. Nor need we greatly mistake in this. The marks of trustworthiness are easily known. "The way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein." Even children understand them well. Men are not often deceived, except through their over-easiness or willingness to be deceived. Truth and reality always bear their own divine impress, and they are recognised at once by the mind, as light is by the outward eye. In the strain of life, what is weak and unsubstantial gives way ; and in the wear and tear of events, what is merely glossy and superficial is soon worn off. Since then, in religion, as in the affairs of common life, we must, in a great degree, depend on the knowledge and truthfulness of others, so God has given to us the capacity of recognising the marks of these in the concerns of religion, as in all things else. He has put his seal upon them, and none need fail to recognise it.

And now to apply these remarks to the subject before us, all this is emphatically true of the great instruction of the Gospel, and of the Great Instructor, Jesus Christ. He makes us to depend on the credibility and authority of the teacher here, as in the common concerns of life ; but as the instruction is above and beyond all human knowledge and experience, and is, moreover, of unspeakable concernment, he has superadded to all those other marks of truthfulness and probity, which irresistibly inspire our confidence in ordinary affairs, the great, the infallible seal of a divine commission, that is, miracles ; works which none

could do, unless God were with him ; the impress of the Divine Authority ; the authentic token of the Divine Presence ; the universally intelligible signet of the Divine Hand. Thus, though the message may be one whose discoveries are amazing, whose directions are absolute and uncompromising, whose sanctions are startling ; though, as a whole, it may fill the mind with wonder, astonishment, and awe ; yet we hesitate not, for an instant, to receive it, for we recognise therein the Heavenly Voice ; we see the proofs of a Divine Interposition ; the seal, the impress, the token, the signet of Almighty God are there, and we believe and adore.

We cannot but add to these remarks that the human soul *needs* this high and authoritative instruction ; needs it for its guidance, needs it for its support, needs it, in both respects, in the strong sense of want. This has often been adverted to by serious and truly earnest minds, and cannot be too strongly stated. Men, left to the suggestions and intuitions and inferences of their own unaided minds, have even lost themselves in doubts, perplexities, and errors. The question of Pilate, "What is truth?" they have asked at a thousand earthly oracles, but have only been further confused by the various and contradictory responses which have been given. They have achieved high success in the arts which minister to the sense of beauty ; they have made sure attainments in the exact sciences ; they have drained dry the sources of merely animal enjoyment ; but the inner wants of the spirit of man were not met ; the thirst of the soul, for a true and satisfying good, was not slaked. How unspeakable, then, is the privilege of having an *authentic* guide in the great questions of religious faith and duty. These baffle the highest reach of the unassisted human intellect. Intimations we have, indeed, of their true solution ; and when resolved by the light of the gospel, the mind yields to it, in glad and grateful acquiescence. But relating as these inquiries do to the character of God, his government, his designs in regard to man, his interest in us as individuals, the terms of his acceptance of us, and our future destination ; they can be fully answered only as He sees fit to reveal them. This is true in regard to the highest human intellect. The most gifted sages of antiquity deeply felt this, and sighed for further light, and sighed in vain. And if this were the fact in regard to minds like these, what must, of necessity, be the condition of the great mass of men ? Let the spiritual condition of the whole heathen world answer

this question. Let the mental and moral condition of those ever since, who have questioned or denied the truth of Christianity, answer this question. Let our own minds, restless, darkened, dissatisfied, seeking light from every other source, and baffled in all, answer this question. Let our hearts, sighing for repose, and the blessedness of a sure support, but finding none in their own resources, or in the broad earth around them, answer this question. Let our hopes, let our fears, let our misgivings under a sense of guilt and conscious need of pardon, answer this question. Yes, the best minds, all minds, feel the inevitable necessity of a light and help beyond their own resources, and they can only find it in an authoritative revelation from God Almighty; in precisely such a revelation as He, in his mercy, has given by Jesus Christ, his own dear and highly commissioned Son. Shall we not then prize this "great salvation," which thus meets all the deeper and more intimate necessities of the soul, and one which is authenticated by nothing less, and we would reverently use the expression, than the sign-manual of the Eternal Father of all?

But this need is yet more keenly felt in the night of affliction, when all merely human support proves treacherous, and human succor fails; when the mind is overwhelmed by the pressure of outward ills, and yet more crushed with a sense of its own helplessness. Then, it requires, beyond all power of expression, a brighter light and a better help, than can be found in its own dark, feeble, questioning results. Then its own speculations, and reasonings, and suggestions, and intuitions are found to be untrustworthy. Then it instinctively seeks for guidance and aid beyond itself. Then, in filial awe, it gladly looks towards that full-orbed light that has arisen with "healing in its beams;" then in grateful submission it turns with the ardent and impulsive apostle to Jesus, and says, "to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." Thus

"In weariness,
In disappointment, or distress,
When strength decays, or hope grows dim,
We ever may recur to Him,
Who has the golden oil divine,
Wherewith to feed our failing urns,
Who watches every lamp, that burns
Before his sacred shrine."

We have thus endeavored to explain and illustrate the authority, which Jesus Christ imperatively claims for himself, and

which is distinctly ascribed to him, by his immediate disciples and followers, in the Christian Scriptures, and particularly his authority as a divinely commissioned Teacher. We have endeavored to show that his peculiar *mode* of teaching, its direct *effect*, and the *authentication of miracles* to which he appealed, all concur to confirm his claim, as an authoritative and infallible Teacher sent of God. We have referred to the facts of the importance and need of such an authority to recommend and enforce the truths he taught; that it is only by authority of some kind, considered as distinct from the ordinary modes of moral suasion, that the minds of the great mass of men can be operated upon at all; that this mode of teaching is precisely analogous to that pursued by God in teaching most things else to man; and that we all experience the deep necessity of such a kind of instruction, both for our guidance and support, in such a world as this. And we now add, in taking leave of the subject, what indeed is an inevitable inference from these positions, that this *Authority of Jesus is the all-concerning Fact* of his religion; that without this, its peculiar force and significance are destroyed; and all its revelations, precepts, and sanctions are little more than a solemn trifling. Yes, we repeat it, the *divine Authority of Jesus Christ, as a Teacher sent of God, is the all-concerning Fact of the religion of Christians*. If he be nothing else than a good and wise man, with only a little more of that natural light which belongs to us all, then, indeed, may all the Heralds of his Gospel say, with the apostle, "is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." If men may reject his peculiar claims, correct his presumed mistakes, instruct him in his ignorance, rejudge his judgments, repudiate his teachings, just so far as they do not happen to coincide with the intuitions and suggestions of their own minds; if they, in fine, virtually Christless, may thus make themselves to be Christs, then we must say, with Mary, "they have taken away from our Christianity the Lord, and we know not where they have laid him." They have taken from our faith its great and distinctive principle; its power, its vitality are gone; its spirit is departed; and nothing remains of it but a dead letter. But "we have not so learned Christ." We have been taught in another school. We have sat at the feet of another Teacher. We have long been glad, in gratitude and meekness, to listen to Jesus, "as one having authority," and rejoice to believe, that for this high purpose, among others, "God hath highly exalted

him, and given him a name, which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

J. B.

ART. II. — *History and Prospects of Unitarianism considered with regard to the general Laws of a Religious Reform.**

IT has been of late a common opinion among Unitarians, that some changes were about to take place in the denomination. Those, who have expressed this opinion, have for the most part declared themselves unable to foresee *precisely in what* these changes were to consist, except that they were to be accompanied with manifestations of greater religious sensibility and warmer devotional feeling. These expressions have come from persons differing widely in education, habits, and opinions, of the most opposite characters, of all occupations and professions, of all degrees of temperature in religion from zeal to indifference, and often in localities so distant from each other, that the opinion or feeling could scarcely have been propagated from one to the other, but seemed wholly original in each, and wholly independent of any contagious influence whatever.

There may be something in the state of a denomination, differing from the usual and natural state of Christian denominations, to be attributed to peculiar and temporary circumstances, and to pass away with them. — This may be distinctly perceived by some, and indistinctly felt by others. Thus, for instance, Christian sects have generally a certain amount of religious enthusiasm, which seems necessary to their existence, and manifests itself in certain modes of action. The absence of this in any denomination may be accounted for by situations and circumstances, which render its absence as natural as its presence would be in other cases. While its absence is natural, the want of this enthusiasm is not felt; but when

* The substance of this article was a report to a meeting of gentlemen in April, 1840.

the causes of this absence have ceased, the absence is unnatural, the want is felt, and a change is expected. So also, temporary circumstances may render modes of thought and expression almost wholly conventional. While this is a natural state, the evil is not felt; but when the causes have ceased, it becomes unnatural, — produces weariness and dissatisfaction, and a change is expected and demanded by the common feeling. Other and more particular facts may exist, at variance with the health and prosperity of a denomination, in themselves unnatural, or else indicating an unnatural state. The remedy for these may be a more general change, — the facts themselves may be such as will produce a change, — or they may be the symptoms of a change already begun. In the last case they are the effects and not the causes of the change.

We propose, first, to notice some of the facts and circumstances, supposed by some to indicate, that certain changes have commenced and are going on in the Unitarian denomination; then, to inquire into the general laws and principles, which govern the progress of *all* denominations *professing to reform the opinions of others*, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they are not the same, which have controlled our progress as a reforming denomination; and, lastly, to see if they will not account for the existence of the facts enumerated, and indicate the nature of the changes, which have already taken place in our denomination, and of those which are to come.

We begin by enumerating a few facts, supposed to be the symptoms of a change. And before we enumerate these, we must anticipate an objection, which may be made to the use, which we intend to make of them. This objection is, that they are not peculiar to Unitarianism, — that every one of them is to be found in some other denomination, — that most of them exist to as great an extent among the Orthodox as among us, and may therefore be as well accounted for by the history of Orthodoxy as of Unitarianism. This objection amounts to nothing, unless they can be accounted for only in one way. If we succeed in showing what the causes of these facts really are in our own denomination, and thus account for them among ourselves, we leave it for any one else to show, that the causes of a similar state of things are similar, or different among other denominations, and thus account for them there.

The number of young men, who desire to enter the ministry, is understood latterly to be diminished, and those, who have

this desire, are generally dissuaded by their friends. It seems, as if it would be necessary for Unitarians to depend for the supply of the ministry upon the means used by other denominations.

Parishes appear to have more difficulty than formerly in the selection of candidates for their pulpits,—trying every candidate, and when no more can be obtained, sometimes hearing them over again. And, when clergymen are at last settled, in most cases, the connexion has little permanence. Many, who have not reached middle life, have been settled in two or three parishes, and there are comparatively few, who have remained ten years in a parish. Many more persons than formerly abandon the Ministry ;—the number of the latter resident in the neighborhood of Boston is quite considerable. Each of these difficulties occurs in such a manner, as to show that it arises from general causes, and not from any source peculiar to itself.

There has also been a considerable manifestation of uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the laity, the exact nature and causes of which are not always well known to the parties themselves. They wish for a change, without indicating, in most cases, what is the change which is sought ;—thus showing that they had not gone about to find a cause of uneasiness, but that the uneasiness had found them. In some it was, so far as it could be defined, a dissatisfaction at the religious coldness and indifference around them, and a desire for more devotional and social Christian warmth, and greater manifestations of feeling. By a slight variation from this, others complained, that the forms in which religion appeared were very conventional, and that the pulpit merely reflected ideas before conventionally agreed on by the congregation. These complaints were most frequent and earnest, not where the causes of them existed in the greatest force, but where they had been partially or wholly removed ; as the pains in a frozen limb are felt most during the recovery. They seemed in no way connected with any particular doctrines. To most of the parties the preaching of the Orthodox appeared equally cold and conventional ; and to some more so, although the coldness and conventionality were of a different kind. Some attributed the causes of their dissatisfactions to defects in preaching ; others to want of religious intercourse and sympathy among the laity ; others to an absence of mutual understanding between the clergy and laity of their

common wants and situation. Some think that more frequent meetings, and a more intimate acquaintance among the members of a congregation, would be a remedy ; others would seek this in an alteration of the rights of property in churches ; — in having the pews in common, and open to all. Some seek a remedy in some alterations in the forms of religious worship ; others think that Unitarianism has put forth certain principles, doctrines, and arguments, which will go on to operate, and to reform error more and more, without any new effort from Unitarians, and that it has thus performed its work, and need not be longer continued in the shape of a distinct sect.

The absence of all efforts for foreign missions, and this coolness, moderation, and conventionality, apart from the dissatisfaction it occasions, are symptoms to be accounted for in the history of our denomination.

It is supposed by some that the growth of our denomination, at least in the neighborhood of Boston, is not so rapid, as it was from ten to twenty years since, and that it is less than that of some other denominations.

A few of the complainants, whom we have mentioned, have, as it is said, without any change in their original doctrinal views, frequented Orthodox churches, to see if they could find there any relief for their uneasiness.

We have thus noticed all the suggestions, which we have heard, of matters which may indicate any change in the state of the denomination, without undertaking to say to what extent they are true. So far as we know anything of these matters, they are, without doubt, all of them effects of the same set of causes. A mere glance over the list makes this so apparent, as to render any argument unnecessary to show, that common causes ought at least to be the first objects of our search. We think that it will be found, that the theory proposed in this article will show what these causes are, and account for the existence of facts precisely similar to these, and exactly at the juncture, when these appeared. The subject is certainly important ; and it would seem as if the inquiry could not be without interest. It might add to this interest, as a matter of curiosity, and perhaps be useful for purposes of comparison and illustration, if we were also to investigate the causes of similar facts among other denominations ; but this would lead us too far and occupy too much space, considering that the inquiry can be conducted to a satisfactory result without it.

We are now to inquire into the general laws and principles, which govern the progress of all denominations professing to reform the opinions of others, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether they are not the same, which have controlled our progress as a reforming denomination.

The theory, which we offer as the answer to this inquiry, would be proposed with great diffidence, if it depended upon our own judgment and authority alone. But it is very old, and has been confirmed by centuries of observation in its application to religious reforms. It has some years since been again brought forward with additional force, by a celebrated French writer, to whom we shall have occasion to refer.

For the purpose of distinctness the subject has been considered under the following heads.

1. The state of opinions before a reform begins.
2. The state of a reforming denomination, while it attacks the errors in prevailing opinions.
3. The reaction, collapse, or state of inaction, which follows after this attack has ceased.
4. The third stage of a reforming denomination, into which it passes after it has rested from the attack, and become active again.

It will be seen, that by a reform we mean the process, by which errors in *opinion* are refuted and come to an end; and by a reforming denomination we mean a denomination, which refutes and (so far as the reform succeeds) puts an end to errors in the *faith* of other denominations.

1. The state of opinions before a reform begins.

A general description of this state from Jouffroy's inquiry, written in 1823, "how dogmas come to an end,"* is better than any one which we could give.

"When a dogma approaches the end of its reign, a profound indifference is first seen springing up for the received faith. This indifference is not doubt; men still continue to believe: it is not even a disposition to doubt; for as yet it has not been suspected that doubt was possible; but it is the characteristic of a belief, which has no longer any life, and which subsists only by custom. In the remote ages, in which the dogma had its birth, it was adopted, because it appeared true; it was then believed for reasons, which were known; faith was then alive.

* See *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, Vol. II, p. 121.

But the children of the first converts began to admit the dogma without verifying its claims ; — that is to say, to believe without comprehending their belief ; and from that time the foundation of faith was changed, and instead of resting on conviction, it took its stand upon authority, and was transformed into a habit. Thus, transmitted from generation to generation in consecrated words, and always less understood in proportion to its distance from its source, the moment at length arrives, when the dogma governs only in appearance, because all sense of its truth has died out from the mind."

"Then arises the period of examination. Astonished at their docile attachment to formulas, which they do not comprehend ; — surrounded by a people, which shares their ignorance and their credulity, certain individuals ask, if they ought to believe without a reason ; and finding within the depths of their consciousness an invincible repugnance to a blind faith, they begin to look more closely at the truth of the dogma which reigns, without taking the trouble to justify its rights." "A thousand errors, a thousand palpable absurdities strike the eyes of those, who first examine, and they cease to believe. From that time a new faith arises in their minds on the ruins of the old."

This general description of the state of religious opinions, before the commencement of a reform, represents, with a good degree of accuracy, the state of the opinions commonly called Orthodox, before the Unitarian reform commenced. The science of divinity was in a very low state. The clergy called themselves Calvinists ; and probably many of them intended to be and perhaps supposed that they were so ; but the doctrines generally preached at that time were, for the most part, what are now called *Arminianism*. The reasoning and constructions, by which the doctrines of Calvinism are now supported, were little known, considered, and understood. Thus, in the first place, "it appears that they believed without comprehending their belief ;" and in the second, "without verifying its claims," and belief "was a mere habit."

This is the reason, why the first shock of a reform produces so much greater effects, than any subsequent attack. The popular faith has at first no means of resistance. It does not know the reasonings and facts, by which it was itself established. Afterwards those, who retain it, re-examine its grounds, — the metaphysical arguments, the texts of scripture, their authentic-

ty and construction and every other source, from whence they can furnish their armory anew, and prepare themselves to fight a great battle in defence of it. When they have recovered from the first shock, and thus armed themselves, the progress of reform is not only much retarded, but part of the ground lost by its opponents is commonly recovered back by them. Thus the Reformation did not retain two thirds of the countries, which at first it overran, and seemed to have subdued.

And so it has been with the Unitarian and all other reforms; they have not kept all that they had gained, nor has their subsequent progress been equal to their first success.

Thus it appears, that reforms even in their commencement are governed by the same general laws.

2. The state of the reforming denomination, while it attacks the errors in prevailing opinions.

We continue the quotation from Jouffroy with respect to the belief of the reforming party. "This faith has nothing positive; it is only the negation of the received faith; — the belief, that that faith is not well founded; but this conviction is lively, because it is the awakening after ages of slumber, and because truth, always beautiful in itself, inspires those, who perceive it for the first time, with a strong passion. It is lively, in fine, because it contains the seeds of a revolution." "In the ruin of a worn-out dogma, serious denial at first takes the place of faith; it is believing something to believe that a prevalent doctrine is false; an ardor, an enthusiasm is at first given, which fills the whole soul."

We find in this description two facts well delineated, which constituted two principal features of the first stage of the Unitarian reform.

First, that it was negative; — it consisted in denial, not in affirmation. It was an attack on the faith of others, and not an assertion of their own. The body of Unitarians were held together, — not by what they believed in common, but by what they denied in common. This was not the bond only, but also the cause of their union. One revolted at one popular dogma; another at another; a third was disgusted by some piece of superstition; a fourth indignant at some act of intolerance. They approached one another in drawing back from the sects around them, and sought not so much an union of belief among themselves, as an escape from the errors of others. Thus the source of their union was not within, but without their own

body. So also its object was not within, but without their own body ; — they sought not to act on themselves, but on others ; they sought to pull down what others had built, and not to build up anything themselves. Thus the cause, bond, and objects of their association were without. This is to be noticed not only as a distinguishing feature of the first stage, but as in direct contradistinction to the features of the third.

Secondly. This attack on the faith of others inspired enthusiasm in the assailing party, as is described in the quotation, without which no denomination can make any progress. There was a warmth of denial, occasioned by a heart-felt conviction of the mischief of some errors, and a disgust at the absurdity of others, increased by acts of intolerance and assumptions of ecclesiastical authority, which frequently occurred. We were confident in the goodness of our cause, proud of the learning and talent of our leaders, and bore our banners boldly into the battle. The heart of each man beat quicker at every triumph of truth over error, and this glow of common sympathy bound us together in the place of an affirmative faith. At the meetings of the Unitarian Association for the first several years, nothing but congratulation was heard ; — we exaggerated our merits and our victories ; but we did not feel this to be so then. If we turn over the catalogue of evils, which are the objects of our inquiry now, as the symptoms of a change, we shall find that not one of them was a subject of complaint at that time. The laity felt no indifference ; the clergy gave and felt satisfaction. No one charged, that the preaching was cold or conventional, nor were the doctrinal sermons, notwithstanding their negative character, ever complained of at that time. We received the answers of our opponents sometimes, indeed, with impatience for a reply, but without any doubt that the reply would be convincing and victorious. In the enthusiasm of our attack, some of us carried our denials so far, that we have since limited or qualified them. This was sometimes occasioned by the habitual fear of admission, common to the stage in which error is to be denied and refuted, and sometimes by a use of phraseology, which was more general and embraced more, than was at the time perceived by the writer.

The enthusiasm for attack ceases ; and this first stage in the progress of a reforming denomination terminates, before the errors, which have been attacked, have come to an end. Some of the party, whose faith is attacked, have relin-

quished one error, and others have abandoned another. By those, who have not abandoned these errors, some are restated with more or less variation ; others have been limited or qualified ; others explained, perhaps nearly explained away, and the most offensive parts of others have been denied. With regard to some of the more extreme, those, who were supposed to be their supporters, deny that they ever believed them. The change of opinion may be great, the wavering and indecision among the party attacked, and its division into different and even hostile opinions, may also be considerable. Individuals may confess, that some of their doctrines are unintelligible, and that sometimes their faith is only an assent to what they do not understand. It may be thought by the reformers, that the blow struck must be mortal, and that erroneous doctrines will certainly fall at last. But still the attack is suspended before they have actually fallen.

The first stage also comes to an end, without any settled agreement among the reformers, concerning the affirmative parts of their faith. They may seem to have agreed, because they have not differed ; and it has been in some sort taken for granted, that what has not been attacked has been believed. But the attention of the reforming party has been directed to what they denied, and not to what they believed ; and it remains to be tested in the subsequent stages of their progress, how far they have actually agreed about the affirmative parts of their faith.

Thirdly. We come now to the second stage of the progress of a reforming denomination,—the reaction, collapse, or state of inaction, which follows after the attack has ceased.

When a reforming party has arrived at a particular point in its progress,—after it has attacked a certain number of errors, it ceases from the attack. Although the greater number of its opponents may still maintain the ancient faith ; it trusts to the effect of the blows, which it has struck, and the wounds, which it has inflicted, and shows no disposition to continue the conflict. Even more, it sickens and begins to show signs of disgust at controversy. More error may or may not remain to be refuted ; but it seems to have finished its work and fulfilled its mission, and not to have in it the capacity to carry farther, or even to continue, its warfare. Upon an occasional provocation in a particular place, or under peculiar circumstances, it may for a moment show something of its former spirit ; but this is soon over. This seems to take place by a law, which cannot be re-

sisted or evaded. God has, without doubt, fixed these limits to exertion, for good and wise purposes. This is true in the case which we are now considering ; and we see several reasons, why it is so.

1. The progress of different members of a community is not equal ; the part, which advances fastest, must wait at the end of each stage of its movements for others to come up, before it commences a new movement. If it neglected to do this, it would leave numbers behind, and thus lose strength and fail of success by its weakness. The world can only go on so fast ; the position of those, who are too far in advance, appears to others so absurd and ridiculous, that they will not listen to them. Individual minds may go far beyond the age, but it cannot understand them ; they speak only to posterity. Bodies of men cannot outstrip their generation more than a certain limited distance ; there they must stop.

2. When reformers have attacked and refuted a certain number of prevalent dogmas, they are compelled to wait the effects of their attack. Until these effects are manifest and the dogmas have fallen, it could do nothing but harm to attack others. The opposition would be so widely extended, as to endanger the success of the reform. The adherents of each dogma, joining in a common defence, would thus make an effectual resistance. And even if this were not so, the result would be still worse ; for so much of the popular faith must be shaken and overthrown at once, that infidelity, and not reform, would be the consequence.

3. A reform can generally proceed at one time only to the limit, to which it can be carried forward by the same minds. Whenever a change takes place in human affairs, certain new ideas seize on the minds of numbers ; but before they can comprehend them, those who are most thoroughly filled and, as it were, inspired by them, speak out, and thus enable the rest fully to understand that, of which they had only a confused idea before. These are the leaders of the change, and seem always to be great men, although in other things they do not sometimes exceed the ordinary standard. They represent great ideas. All, who have the same idea, rally round those, who first fully and strongly express it. The latter have thus in them not merely the power of the thought, but the force of the masses, which support it. If the leaders go beyond these ideas, and utter others, which do not so fully possess and inspire their

own minds, they speak feebly, and therefore fail. If they go beyond what the masses can be made thoroughly to comprehend and feel, they no longer possess the support, force, and confidence of numbers, and thus fail. In fine, they are no longer great men, to whom the world listens.

The great men of the day, and the great men of posterity, are, as we have hinted, very different persons. The men of the day only anticipate, shape, and give more speedy, full, and distinct utterance to the thoughts of the day, and thus become its leaders; being after all not so far before other men, as to prevent their being listened to and understood by them. The great men of posterity are those, who are not only in advance of their own time, but also in the same manner in advance of posterity; and fully and distinctly express thoughts, which their contemporaries cannot comprehend, but which posterity will be able to receive and comprehend, and will learn only as they are handed down by them. These men, if they could be the leaders of a reform in their own time, could carry it farther; but they cannot be the leaders, because they cannot make themselves to be understood by their age. It thinks them unsound, wild, and perhaps insane, and opposes, instead of listening to them. Thus the men, who carry forward a reform, must be the men of the day, who, being able to advance only so far beyond their generation, cannot pass a certain limit. Here the reform must stop.

4. Theology, or any other science, having made a certain progress, must wait until a somewhat corresponding progress has been made in other branches of knowledge. At every period, some branches are going forward, and others are standing still. After a time, those, which formerly advanced, seem to be stopped, and those, which formerly stood still, begin to advance in their turn. It often happens, that a step, in what appears a trifling branch of knowledge, leads to a much greater step in an important science. Thus Conchology treats principally of the outward forms of shells, showing little of the natural history of the animal within. Yet the progress in this branch has led to the greatest advances in Geology, which have ever been made. Let us take another instance in Theology itself. It was formerly a popular opinion, that the principle, upon which crime was punished, was bare retribution, or, in other words, that apart from the protection of the community and the reform of the offender, it was right, that the criminal law should connect

certain suffering with the commission of an offence, by the mere will of the legislature, which would not otherwise have been necessarily connected with the offence. This was a repaying of evil by evil, such being the ideas of punishment or retributive justice; and this justice was thought to be a part of the duty, excellence, and greatness or glory of a good government. The same idea of justice was also attributed to God; and it was held to be necessary to his justice and glory, that he should thus repay sin with evil or suffering, apart from the idea, that this was the consequence and involved in the very nature of sin; — that is, that this should be done arbitrarily or by his mere will, as a retribution or paying back of evil by evil, without regard to the idea of any other necessary connexion of cause and effect between the sin and the suffering; — that he could not forgive sin, until after he had punished it, either by the suffering inflicted on the offender, or on Christ in his stead. This constituted part of the doctrine of the atonement, as held by some Christians. The Legislature now, at every session, spend some days in inquiring, what is the least amount of suffering to be inflicted for any offence, which will prevent the commission of it, and thus protect the community; and how prisons can be regulated so as to reform the offender. By doing this, they abandon retribution altogether as a distinct part of justice. The course of legislation seems to determine, that it is right only to connect so much suffering with crime, as is necessary to prevent it, or in other words, the least amount which will protect the community, leaving nothing over for mere retribution; and while the guilt of the offence remains the same, the Lawgivers, from time to time, raise or diminish the punishment, according to the danger of the community; thus rejecting the guilt as the standard of punishment. When this principle prevails, the word “justice” begins to represent a different idea, and the duty, excellence, and glory of a government is thought to consist in something different from what it did before. If the mere repaying of evil by evil is thus thought unworthy of a good government, how long can it be thought worthy of the government of God, and a necessary part of his justice and glory? How long can these two contradictory ideas subsist together? If the modern opinion should prevail, the foundation of a part of the doctrine of the atonement, as held by some Christians, would be abandoned, and so much of that doctrine must fall. It will not be sufficient to sustain it, that sin and suffering are so connect-

ed in their nature and consequences, that suffering may, notwithstanding this, be eternal ; and that final results are still the same to the sinner, until his regeneration, as under the former theory ; nor that this regeneration takes place through the death of Christ ; for this is the action of the death of Christ upon the sinner, and not upon God, and is a different part of the doctrine of the atonement. This may serve as an illustration of the dependence of Theology upon other branches of knowledge. And if this be generally true, it follows of course, that after a reform in theology has made a certain progress, it must sometimes stop to await their advance. But for the existence of this law, one branch of knowledge would so far outstrip the rest, and attract to itself so great a proportion of attention and interest, that the others would be neglected, and perhaps left to perish.

We see here four reasons, (probably among many others,) why a reform must come to an end, and make no further advance beyond a certain point. But why must it end in a state of inaction, as we have stated at the head of this division of the subject ?

1. Because the life and action of the former stage arose from the common enthusiasm and sympathy, with which certain popular errors were denied, attacked, refuted. The change consisted in the loss of this enthusiasm, which was the moving power ; and until it manifests itself again, as it may in some other direction, and with regard to some other object, the result would necessarily be coldness and inaction in this particular case.

2. Because there is a general law of nature, by which this would be the universal result. All action has its reaction. After the labor of the day follows the sleep of the night ; after exercise follows rest ; after fever follows weakness and collapse ; after violent exertion follows exhaustion ; after extreme excitement follows fainting, and even catalepsy. In this world this is the law of minds, as well as of body, — of societies, as well as of individuals. After a great effort of a community follows a season of inaction. Those, who undertake movements for religious or benevolent purposes, have learned this by experience ; — they delay any new attempt, until a sufficient time has elapsed since the last effort of the community. This rule applies to a reforming denomination, in the same manner, as it does to other associated bodies.

3. This period of comparative coldness and inaction is a necessary interval between the first and third stage. We have seen, that in the first stage a reforming denomination denies, attacks, and refutes. The points of attention are the doctrines, which it does *not* believe. The then prominent and most important parts of its faith are negative. The understanding has rejected many of its old ideas, and has not, as Dr. Johnson expresses it, had time to make up its new bundle. The affirmative parts of its faith are not yet well settled. In passing into the third stage, it collects and restates the parts of its former faith, which it has not rejected, or which it has limited, explained, or qualified, and adds to them any new ideas, which it has adopted; and thus completes the articles of its positive faith. The whole process consists in affirmation only. These two processes are certainly of an opposite character. It might be too much to say, that they cannot consist together in any mind; but in most minds, instead of coöperating, they hinder and resist each other. In bodies of men, they probably cannot go on together; but however the possibility may be, it is sufficient to state the fact from experience, that they never have done so. Time must then be allowed for the change in the mind from the negative to the affirmative state. This period of vacancy is cold and lifeless. The old stimulus has ceased, and the new has not begun to operate. As Jouffroy observes, the mind, as it has been deprived of one belief, and has not yet found another, feels a void in this perfect independence, which, if flattering and delightful for a time, cannot fail to weary its nature.

4. A fourth cause of this period of inaction, and of its duration, we state in the language of the writer, whom we have just cited. It is an extension of the former idea. "It is needful that the generation, which prostrated the ancient faith, should pass away; their work was to destroy, and it will never be given them to construct. Their life has been worn out in combatting the ancient dogma." This may be a general truth with regard to masses of men, to generations. There is nothing in our experience which contradicts it. It is not asserted, and may not be true of *every* individual mind. According to this an interval must elapse between the first and third stage, sufficient to bring a new set of minds into action. But it is not necessary, nor within the reason of the rule, that these minds should not have been in existence during the period of pulling

down ; only that they should not have been in action during that period, so as to have had the same ideas and feelings with those, whose business it was to pull down. They may be the persons, who immediately succeed them in active life. If this be true, ten years might be sufficient time for this change, though a longer time has already actually passed in the second stage, and we are not yet out of it. It is true, that we have shown some signs of attempting to reconstruct, and to put forward positive and affirmative truths. Why have these attempts excited so little interest even among ourselves ? Why have meetings connected with such subjects been, with a few exceptions, so thinly attended ? Why have some of our friends felt so little sympathy with them ? Because, among persons in middle age, who usually act in such matters, some of us still belong to the first stage, and so many have grown cold in the second, and so few of that age are to be the busy actors in the third.

What is the state of the pulpit during the second period ? During the first stage the preaching, as might be expected, partook of the negative doctrinal character of the time. If this kind of preaching is continued in the second period, the people cry out, " no more controversy ; we are tired of it." If a positive, or affirmative faith is taught, they are willing, perhaps, to hear it ; but they hesitate at many things, and are afraid of being committed before sufficient investigation. They have not made up their bundle of affirmative ideas. If a warm and zealous faith is preached, with deep and glowing appeals to religious feeling, in few, beside women and children, is there much sympathy ; the numbers are cold and cannot kindle. But as the clergy are affected in the same way with the laity, these attempts are seldom made until the latter part of the second stage, — too seldom to give many examples of the result, which I have stated. In many of the clergy the impulse has not yet arisen, or, if it has, they are restrained by the chilling atmosphere around them ; they cannot bring it out ; and if they could, they have no faith in the public sympathy. There is such moderation in everything, such a shrinking from the adoption of any new, or affirmative opinions, and a fear of any unusual demonstration of feeling, that it is no wonder that the pulpit becomes conventional, and merely echoes back universally received ideas. We knew a parish, whose committee informed a candidate, that he must not mention any faults in

the modes of conducting business, nor preach temperance, nor a future retribution. He answered, that Paul reasoned before a heathen "of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come" without offence, and he could be of no use to those, who would not bear as much. In such a state of things, sermons must, to a considerable extent, consist of safe common-places, things "which nobody can deny," recommendations of an undisputed virtue, and arguments against a generally condemned vice, commendations of religion in general, and every opportunity for an occasional discourse will be seized, to relieve the tediousness of the routine. But, yet, there is a kind of practical preaching at such times, which brings topics home to the actual business of life with great judgment and knowledge of affairs, and with fidelity and good effect. Hints and phrases are, however, thrown out from time to time, somewhat vague and indefinite, to be sure, but which show, that the preacher has stopped short of the point, which would satisfy himself, and that something more is coming by and by.

On the whole, the second stage is a period of great decency, propriety, and deadness. We may say, all this is very unsatisfactory; we may blame or ridicule it, as much as we will; but if our view of the progress of reform is correct, neither the preacher nor hearers are so much to be condemned. It is the result of the laws and circumstances, which we have considered a necessary step in this progress, without which we could not pass from the first to the third stage.

Need anything be added to show, that this is a picture of a certain period in the history of Unitarianism? Every one may make the comparison for himself. So great is the likeness, that the only danger seems to be, that it will be believed to be drawn from Unitarianism, and afterwards used as a theory of general reform, instead of being a representation of a stage of general reform, of which a period in the Unitarian reform is only a particular instance and example.

4. We come now to the third stage of a reforming denomination, after it has rested from its attacks and become active again.

It has confuted, at least to its own satisfaction, the errors, which it attacked. Wearied with conflict and disgusted with dispute, it has rested from the attack; and trusting to the result, it waits the effects of the wounds, which it has inflicted on the ancient belief. Tired of resting in mere denials, and

thirsting for something more than a negative faith, it has begun to collect, arrange, and define its positive and affirmative ideas of religious truth. A sufficient period has elapsed, in the second stage, for a transition from the former set of ideas to the latter. Jouffroy, who holds, that this must be the work of another generation, thus describes the commencement of this third stage.

"A new generation springs up, which was born in the bosom of skepticism, (by which he means the disbelief of the rejected opinions,) at the period, when the two parties were engaged in the dispute. This generation has heard and comprehended; the old dogma has no authority with it; in its view skepticism is right in its quarrel with the dogma, but wrong in itself; after it has accomplished the work of destruction, there is nothing of it left. Already these children have got beyond their fathers, and feel the poverty of their doctrines. They obtain a presentiment of a new and better faith; — they fix their eye upon this inspiring prospect with enthusiasm, with conviction, with resolution. The hope of a renovated age is in them, and they are the elect apostles of its coming." They "appear on the stage, nurtured in the hatred of the ancient dogma; free from the care of refuting it, — a work already done; eager for new manifestations of truth, and filled with the wants of their age, which no prejudice can prevent them from feeling."

In this stage a denomination reconstructs the whole temple of faith. It examines how far it has departed from the ancient faith, and how much of that faith it still holds; what has been destroyed, what defined, what qualified or limited, what new ideas it has added. It then endeavors to form of these remains, changes, and additions a complete whole. But this is not the work of a moment. For considerable differences of opinion manifest themselves in a reforming denomination, concerning its affirmative belief, as it begins to enter its third stage. This is natural and to be expected. It had settled its negative faith by the discussions of the first stage, so as to produce a tolerable degree of uniformity. But it has just begun to turn its attention to its affirmative belief, and there has not yet been sufficient discussion and interchange of opinion, to produce anything like agreement on many points. But as its attention is now given to its positive ideas, time alone may be wanting to produce, with almost all its members, as great an uniformity

on most topics, as is reasonable and necessary. When compelled, it repeats occasionally its former denials, but not with the same zeal ; because it now loves to dwell on the affirmative, rather than the negative parts of its creed. In the first stage of reform it said little of the tenets, which it held in common with the old faith, but gave its attention to those, from which it had revolted ; now it reasserts the former with force and vigor, but says little of the latter. By this it seems to many to have gone backward towards the ancient faith. They thought that it had ceased to believe many tenets common to both faiths, because for a time it omitted to assert them. But this is really no retrograde motion. Nevertheless, it does also examine, whether in the zeal and earnestness of reform it has not carried some points too far, and denied more than it intended. If it detects any such error, it hastens to correct it, and retraces its steps to the point, which is the limit of truth. The hostile feeling towards its former antagonists diminishes, and a reaction ensues, which leads it to view their errors with more indulgence, to do justice to their merits, and to give its value to all truth to be found on their side. In fact, this new tone of feeling seems to give it something in common with the ancient faith. In the first stage it had life and warmth ; in the second stage it was cold and lifeless ; in the third stage there is another change, and it recovers its life and warmth, but not the same, which it had before. In the first stage its warmth was exhibited in its denials, in the third in its affirmations ; in the first its object was to act on others ; in the third to act on itself ; in the first it rejoiced more to refute an error, than to establish a truth ; in the third this is reversed. But it is not content any longer even with truth, if it continues to be merely speculative. No state of the understanding will satisfy it ; nor does it love truth so much for the sake of enlightening the understanding, as it did before ; it regards and values it almost exactly in proportion as it affects the heart. It begins to manifest signs of deep and strong religious feeling, and to demand and seek a corresponding religious feeling in others. It sometimes shows less sympathy with those, who agree with it in speculative truth, but have less religious feeling, than with those who differ in tenets, but respond to its feelings. As this feeling spreads from bosom to bosom, it is acted upon again, and kindled into fervor by the very sympathy, which it has created. It appears to be propagated by sympathy in many instances, in which

this is not really the case. In the latter part of the second stage, and the beginning of the third, many minds have been acted upon by the same causes independently of each other, and without any communication between them. The same causes have produced the same effects in each, unknown to the others, and each supposes that the increased warmth in his religious feelings is peculiar to his own case. Under such circumstances, some occasion produces a manifestation of this feeling in a number, in such a manner, as to make them appear to have caught it from each other. So epidemic diseases, produced by causes in the earth, water, or air, acting on neighborhoods, are commonly attributed to a contagion spreading from one patient to another. In whatever proportion it may be produced from either of these sources, this feeling at last swells into an enthusiasm, which astonishes alike its friends and its enemies. Always unexpected, even among the most obvious reasons for expecting it, it produces the same astonishment, when it appears in the world the hundredth time, that it did the first. Many are expecting a change, but not this change. On the contrary, they are continually deploring the absence of this enthusiasm, without suspecting, that this lamentation by numbers is a symptom of its presence, and that it will soon manifest itself, if the want is really felt, and the complaint is not conventional, and thus deceptive in the majority.

It does not, however, follow, that the enthusiasm, when it comes, is to continue permanently at a high point. After the first burst is over, it will be governed by the same laws, as that of other denominations, modified by its own circumstances, and the characters of those, who compose the reforming denomination. That, which grows slowly, will endure long; as the oak lives for centuries, while the gourd perishes in a night. Light characters are soon heated, effervesce, and throw off their heat suddenly. Solid and reflecting minds do not show so much warmth on the surface, and of course retain it longer. Enthusiasm of the understanding is more permanent, than enthusiasm of the passions. Facts are not sufficiently known to make it easy to pursue the inquiry beyond such general reflections as these. If we believe, that a denomination is to continue to exist in any form whatever, we must believe, that, be this form what it may, enthusiasm will arise. From the beginning of the world to the present time, there is no experience of the continuance of any party without it. All history tells us, that,

when enthusiasm finally left it, it fell. To deny this, or to expect anything else, is to deny the laws of nature, manifested and tested a thousand times, or to expect, that these laws will change.

And how does this last change affect the pulpit? When the reforming denomination had passed from the first to the second stage, it complained of the negative doctrinal preaching and controversy, which distinguished the first stage; it now complains of the quietness, coldness, and perhaps lifelessness, which distinguished the second stage. The new and affirmative state of its faith, and the new warmth and fervor of its feeling, have produced a want, which the former kinds of preaching will not satisfy. It demands, that the heart should be addressed, and perhaps is at first too jealous to allow to the understanding all its rightful share in the services of religion. It requires not only, that the words of the preacher should respond to its own feelings with an equal warmth, but it demands still more, — it demands, that they should excite yet greater fervor. This is new, but it is natural. We must not indulge in common-places against it, drawn from our experience of a former and different state of things. There is now, for the first time, a denomination acting efficiently on itself, as it before acted efficiently on others. It is therefore, as it were, a new denomination, so far as regards the point in question, its field of action, — that is, its action on itself. We must not be surprised, that it obeys the laws of new denominations, and for a time goes the same lengths in requiring enthusiasm in the pulpit, as well as manifesting it among the laity. This is the law of human nature, and will prevail, whether we have seen it, or only have it from the testimony of others. And it will not be extraordinary, if this should be temporarily carried to an extent, which it has formerly censured in others.

When this enthusiasm has subsided to its permanent level, the third and last stage of its progress, as a reforming denomination, is then complete. It now enters the religious world on the same ground with other old denominations. It is no longer a denying, attacking, and pulling down denomination; nor a resting and inactive denomination, in a transition from a negative to an affirmative faith, from pulling down to building up; nor a denomination acting principally on itself, and only indirectly on others, occupied in building up its own affirmative creed. The peculiarities of each stage have ceased to be

its principal distinguishing marks. Its affirmative and negative creed being now both completed, the characters of those, who compose it, the circumstances of the times and its own peculiarities will regulate its state and action, and make it resemble, or differ from other denominations, as the same causes make other denominations differ from each other.

Unitarianism has not yet made sufficient progress toward and in the third stage, to give opportunity to notice many resemblances to the description just given. Some of the symptoms of change, enumerated in the commencement of this report, may be traced to the state of individual minds, who have just passed into the third stage before the rest of the denomination. Any resemblance, which may here be found to the third stage of a reform, will be considered under the second head of the conclusion.

We have thus completed our attempt to give a sketch, or as some may prefer to call it, a theory of the several stages of the progress of a party, which labors to produce a reform in the popular faith. We have cited, as far as possible, the description from Jouffroy, in order to have the weight and benefit of his authority, as a philosophical and acute observer of this part of the field of human nature. But the ideas, though they derive confirmation from his adoption and force from his statement of them, are no more original with him, than with us. They have been pointed out to the world long ago, and shown to be the principles, which governed the Protestant reform; and have also been thought applicable to political, as well as theological reforms. His general descriptions not only seemed better, than any which we could have given, but they had an advantage in the certainty, that they were not made for the occasion. It might have been suspected, that the general rule was made to fit the particular case, or at least was so stated, as to produce the greatest similarity. By turning to his article, "how dogmas come to an end," written in 1823, it will be seen, that it was intended for general and not particular application; least of all is there any reason to think, that he even thought of Unitarianism, while he was writing it.

It is proposed to conclude the subject,

1. By showing some of the defects, which were unavoidable in a description of these stages of progress, for which allowance must be made in comparing it with our experience of the progress of the Unitarian reform.

II. By applying the theory to account for the supposed symptoms of a change first noticed.

1. Some defects were unavoidable in a description of these stages of progress, for which allowance must be made in comparing it with our experience of the progress of Unitarian reform.

Many details will be found wanting, which are necessary to show a complete correspondence between them, but which would require more time and space to gather up and supply, than could be devoted to that purpose. This sketch undertakes to describe only the general features of each state and change. It must not be supposed, that because the principal characteristic of the first stage was a denial of what others believed,—an attention to the negative and a neglect of the affirmative ideas of a creed,—that therefore no one had any positive belief of his own, or that the mass believed nothing affirmative in common; nor that because the second stage was marked with quietness, inaction, and perhaps lifelessness, that therefore no one had any religious feeling; nor that the third stage will consist of one universal and unmixed enthusiasm pervading every bosom in an equal degree. This would be a picture, which could never have an original on earth. It was intended to point out the principal traits only, which distinguished each stage from the others, and were the most prominent features in a general view. The common sense of every one must make the qualifications, limitations, and exceptions, usual and necessary in all accounts of the state and action of masses of men.

We must not confound the preaching of a reform in Christianity, with the first preaching of Christianity as a reform. Where Christianity already exists, its general influences mingle with the influences of the attempt to reform particular doctrines. The position of the reform may be negative, but the reformers cannot be Christians, if nothing of the positive and affirmative in the general influence of Christianity mingles with and qualifies this negative state.

It may be pointed out by some, as a contradiction to the foregoing theory, that negative doctrinal preaching has been well received at times since the first stage. Was it controversy, was its principal purpose to attack, and pull down the faith of others; or was it instruction,—that is, intended to preserve the knowledge and right understanding of our doctrines

and arguments among ourselves? The doctrinal preaching of the first stage was intended to act on others, not ourselves; the little doctrinal preaching, which has been well received since, was to act on ourselves, rather than on others. It is not, therefore, the negative doctrinal preaching of the first stage, and so neither an exception nor contradiction. When we introduce our doctrine into a new country, we are obliged to state and prove our doctrines anew, especially those which attack and deny the faith prevailing there; and this we must do in such places in all stages. This is a very limited exception to the rule, and so local is the cause, that it can affect a very small part of the denomination at once, and can never form an important feature in a general view.

Those, who expect a history of their own personal progress, will also be disappointed in this; for it was not intended, nor was it possible, to furnish a description of the state and progress of each individual mind. In no two persons would this be exactly similar. The state and action of the whole body must have been the result of the combination of the state and action of all the individual minds taken together, as they were situated and acted together. Probably no one individual exactly represented this general result. The resemblance of the picture cannot therefore be tested, and must not be tried by any one's self-examination, or inward self-recollection; but by his external observation and experience. He must recall what was taking place around him, and not what was passing within him, if he would know the truth of the likeness. If twelve different numbers were added together, and divided by twelve, each would contribute to the result, and yet none might be equal to the quotient. We might as well look for the history of a nation in the private biography of a citizen, as for a history of Unitarianism in the inward consciousness of a Unitarian. The very theory supposes, that the first and third stage will seldom exist in the experience of the same individual. Only two individuals have stated to us, that they had been through all the stages described; both of these were clergymen, who had formerly been Orthodox. If a denomination consisted only of judicious men, although in the first stage, its action on others might consist only of denial and attack; it would still think the affirmative parts of its creed most important to itself; nor would it, in the second stage, denounce all controversy, but only the abuse of it; nor would it, in the

third stage, give up the reins to its enthusiasm, as it might do, if otherwise constituted. So, if it consisted only of religious men, it might not show all the coldness and indifference in the second stage, which is here described. Persons of the soundest judgment, or most ardent piety, must not expect to find their own history in the history of a body, composed of the judicious and the injudicious, the religious and indifferent, the active and the passive, the ardent and the cold. One set of minds putting themselves forward at one time, and another set at another, according to the circumstances of the time, and the principles brought into action, but each at all times qualifying and modifying the others more or less. The cold and indifferent will be the last to recognise their own resemblance, as it is their characteristic to be insensible to their own coldness; while those recovering from it, and passing into the third, will speak, as if coldness were the only possible evil, and be indignant at the hint, that too much enthusiasm is possible.

In aiming to convey the idea of each state and change with precision and distinctness, it has been necessary to speak, as if the moment when a denomination passes from one stage to another was distinctly marked, and could be certainly ascertained, although, to be sure, it has been somewhere said or implied in contradiction to this, that all individuals do not pass at the same time. But this period of change cannot generally be ascertained, even in an individual. We can perceive when it has not yet begun, and when it is over; but probably not the day nor the month, when it began or ended.

This generality of description has probably produced some defects not enumerated, to say nothing of those arising from other causes.

2. We are to apply the theory to account for the supposed symptoms of a change first noticed.

Among these were enumerated its coldness and the absence of any spirit for foreign missions.

Unitarianism has been charged with coldness at all times, ever since it attracted notice in this country. We see now how far this charge is true, and how far it is accounted for by the proposed theory. It is one reason in favor of the truth of the theory, that it accounts for the fact where it was true, and for the charge where it was not. We have admitted the coldness of Unitarianism in the second stage; and to account for the fact, we need only to refer to what has been said with

respect to the causes of this, without adding anything here. It is necessary to examine the charge with regard to the *first* stage only, as it cannot yet have been made against the *third*, and probably never will be. Unitarianism was warm and zealous enough in its denials, attacks, and refutations. It bestowed all its strength on this work ; but, as we have said, gave little attention, and showed little zeal with regard to the affirmative parts of its faith. This kind of warmth of denial and attack was not likely to be very highly estimated by the denominations, whose faith it denied and attacked, or even to receive its just value from them. Besides this, the other denominations were asserting an affirmative faith, to which they gave their whole hearts, and expended their warmth and zeal in teaching and defending it. Warmth and zeal with them meant warmth and zeal in this, and coldness with them meant coldness in this. They did not see, nor were they favorably situated for seeing the distinction, which we have noticed ; but made their charge generally, although it was only true particularly. It was the office and duty, or (as the phrase is) the mission of Unitarianism in its first stage to reform the errors, which it attacked. The charge then, so far as it was true, amounted to this, that it was warm and zealous in its special mission, and cold in other matters. It exhausted all its enthusiasm there. Thus the Anti-slavery party seem to think little of any evil but slavery ; the Temperance party of any evil but intemperance ; the Peace party of any evil but war ; to say nothing of parties assuming to be reformers in politics. This is the law of reform ; each party expends all its power and ardor to reform a particular evil. So it was and must have been with Unitarianism. The whole truth amounts to nothing more than this, that it was cold where it must have been cold, and warm where it must have been warm, according to the principles and laws of a reforming party. This continual coldness, so far as it existed, is a confirmation and not an objection to our theory.

Another feature of Unitarianism was the absence of any spirit for foreign missions. This, although it cannot be praised, may be excused, as one of the distinguishing marks of a reforming denomination in its first and second stages. Its business is to act on Christians, not on heathens. It needs all its strength for this work. If its strength was divided between the two undertakings, unless the denomination were very large and strong, it might fail in both. It must direct its eye steadily to

the duty, to which it had devoted itself, and this is of a kind to divert its attention from the other. It keeps all its zeal at home ; and though it may embark in missionary undertakings there, they will at first be only reforming missions, arising out of, and making part of its great work. Other missions, like the proposed mission to India, even if determined on, are not likely to be undertaken. When at first it goes beyond its duty of reforming errors in popular faith, (which must be, after it has passed out of the first stage, and has lost part of its sectarianism,) some home mission, like that of the fraternity of churches, will for a time bound its desires. In the third stage, it may do more ; but, then, it will at first act principally on itself. When it has so acted, and established its affirmative faith, and has kindled its enthusiasm in asserting this faith, it may spread it far and wide. Missions and an affirmative faith go together. When the zeal of a party is engaged in denial and refutation, what has it to carry abroad ? These denials and refutations ? They are not wanted among the heathen. Can it carry its affirmative faith ? This has not yet sufficiently engaged its own attention. It must go through the second stage, and have time, as we have seen, to pass from one set of ideas to the other, before it can propagate the latter. What it does not assert with zeal at home, it cannot have zeal to carry abroad. It must wait for foreign missions, until its three stages are at least nearly complete. We see, then, in Unitarianism another feature, which by the laws of reform must exist there, and another proof of its obedience to those laws, as laid down in our original description.

Another class of symptoms are the difficulties in the ministry.

How is the ministry to be supported in this country, so as to enable it to do the most good ? With us the support of the ministry is voluntary ; no one need contribute unless he pleases. It is effected in one of two ways, by voluntary contributions, or by taxes on property or pews. In the parishes, where it is supported by contributions, it is sufficiently accurate for our purpose, to say, that there are three descriptions of persons ; those, who have sufficient interest in the ministry to give liberally ; those, who have just interest enough to give sparingly ; those, who have so little interest, that they will not give at all. If the particular ministry existing at the time excites little interest, the expense falls pretty heavily upon those of the first

class, who pay from a sense of duty. The contributions of others fall off, or diminish. This cannot go on long, before the conscientiously liberal are so over-burdened, that they cannot meet the expense. Perhaps the minister relinquishes part of his salary. But this is seldom a remedy ; the means diminish faster still, and he perceives that he must leave for want of a support.

Where the pews are taxed, it seems as if the contract stood on a more permanent foundation. In reality there is little difference. If the interest in the ministry is small, many of the taxes will not be paid. The pews must be sold, and at such times they will bring little or nothing. If the owners are not interested to keep them, the chance is small, that those, who cared too little to own pews before, will, under more unfavorable circumstances, be now interested to buy them, unless tempted by the extreme lowness of the price. The number soon exceeds their wants even at low prices. But the minister must be supported, and the conscientiously liberal buy pews, which they do not want, in the hope, that better times will come. Thus they become owners of, and are burdened with the taxes of many pews. The same state of things, described in a contributing parish, now takes place in a taxed parish, with a slight difference in form only. The minister must go. Where there is a property tax, the case is not sufficiently varied to need a separate description.

Whether a minister is settled until six months after notice by either party, or for a certain number of years, or for life, he has no security for his contract, where any one can withdraw at pleasure, except the liberality of the parish, or the value of the pews. He may in some cases sue the parish, and distress his best friends, who before it comes to that, will be the persons upon whom the damages will actually fall. If his ministry creates no interest, the pews have little or no value, and there is little or no difference between the two kinds of parishes.

All depends upon the interest, which the ministry inspires, and this may be created in three ways ; by his personal reputation and character, apart from his powers as a minister ; by his social influence in his intercourse as a minister ; by his preaching. But though the two former are useful auxiliaries, the permanent interest in the ministry must, in most cases, depend on the effect of the preaching.

Almost all our congregations are in the second stage, with a greater or less number of individuals in each, who are passing or have passed into the third. Probably no congregation is still in the first, and none has wholly passed into the third. What preaching will interest a congregation in the second stage? They will not hear the negative doctrinal preaching of the first stage; they are not yet ready for the affirmative preaching of the third, with its enthusiasm and appeals to religious sensibility, though many individuals among them desire and would receive it with a responding sympathy. The decent, judicious, quiet, but somewhat conventional and lifeless preaching of the second stage is generally offered, and perhaps suits as well as anything. But it cannot be continued for a long time, without producing weariness, ennui, and uneasiness. It has now been endured so long, that these continually manifest themselves. When the people feel this weariness, and uneasiness, not being aware of the cause and necessity of this preaching, they think that it is the fault of the preacher, and that the remedy is change. The same cause produces the desire to hear many candidates, without being satisfied with either of them. If there are in the parish a number, who have passed into the third stage, their complaints of cold preaching, dead preaching, conventional preaching, only make the matter worse. If they persuaded the parish, that their wants were the same, and that a preacher in the third stage would cure all; the moment after his settlement, the mistake would be discovered. The majority would call his preaching Orthodoxy, fanaticism, or some other name; and if they only called it enthusiasm, the effect would be nearly the same. There would be two parties where the help of all was needed, and it would be as difficult as before, to retain the minister, or to get another. We see how these states of affairs will affect contributions or taxes. Public worship, at present, can be supported, in many places, only by the perpetual change of ministry, with the hope that each new minister would excite a new interest. Novelty does something, and the mistake lasts a little while; but the hope is soon disappointed, because it proceeds from ignorance of the true cause of the difficulty. Such a state of things is as injurious to the usefulness of the ministry, as to the comfort and support of the minister. Rich parishes feel these difficulties less, and therefore the ministry is more permanent among them.

With such a state of things, it is easy to see, why young men find less in the ministry, than formerly, to satisfy their desire to do good, to promise the hope of a support, or to gratify a reasonable wish for reputation. Older and more experienced friends will understand this, if they themselves do not, and will oppose their entering the profession. The same reasons also account for the fact, that so many abandon the ministry.

Another symptom of the times was a continual manifestation of uneasiness among a considerable part of the laity, complaints of the preaching, expressions of desire of more religious intercourse among the members of congregations, and between the laity and clergy. This uneasiness and complaining are found among those, who have passed into the third stage. The preaching of the second stage fails to respond to the warmth of their religious feeling. They seek a sympathy for the enthusiasm just kindling within themselves. They wish every means to be tried to increase this sympathy. Some think to propagate the enthusiasm by religious intercourse ; others suppose that pew rights are unfavorable to this, and would return to the ancient method of common and public seats. They believe, that what existed in their own bosoms, sometime before they uttered it, now lies hidden in other breasts, waiting only the communication of a spark to draw it forth. They are right in supposing, that many have passed into the third stage, who are still silent, and perhaps have only a feeling, which they cannot define, and not an idea, which they can express. They are *right also* in thinking, that if the clergy can be brought within the electric circle of this sympathy, it will affect their preaching. They may be right in believing, that some can be carried faster from the second into the third stage, by the application of these means. But the difficulty is, that so many cannot yet feel these wants, and will remain in the second stage, having no sympathy with the complainants, and joining in no efforts. While they are there, if there was a meeting every night and the whole church was one pew, by the very supposition of the case it would do no good to them ; they are rather opposed in their quiet way to all these things. The class of complainants just mentioned are even now a numerous body, continually increasing, and will never again be content with anything, which belongs to the second stage ; nor are they as patient as they would be, if they understood, that time was the remedy, nor so efficient, as if, what they have, was

more an idea and less a sensation. When the complaint is, that the preaching is conventional, this slight variation comes from those, who, differing from the persons just mentioned, think rather than feel. It is a perception of the heart, that it is cold, but of the understanding, that it is conventional. Those, whose understanding and correct taste, being offended with the poverty of the second stage, notice its conventionality, are passing into the third principally by the action of the intellect. This poverty will, after a time, become almost as intolerable to their good sense and refinement, as it is to the religious sensibility of others.

Some of these complainants have, as we are told, worshipped in Orthodox churches in preference to our own, without manifesting any inclination to Orthodox views, or any change at all in their former faith. This number is small; but it is an effect, which the same cause may continue to produce, and is therefore worth considering. These are persons, who passed somewhat suddenly into the third stage, while those around them remained in the second. They sought sympathy among those, who differed from them in opinion, but had somewhat similar feelings, because they could not find it among those about them of the same creed. The third stage, like Orthodoxy, expends all its warmth and energy on the affirmative parts of its belief, while the second stage has lost its interest in the negative parts, and has not yet acquired it in the affirmative. This is the cause of the repulsion and attraction. Any religious excitement puts these in operation.

Some facts have been mentioned, which show, that for some years we have not gained so much, as many other denominations. How can there be any great gain in the second stage? Men can only combine, and induce others to combine with them for some purpose, which greatly interests them. Shall it be to pull down error? The interest of the denomination in this has principally passed away; it hates controversy. To assert affirmative truth and to build up? Its interest in this is not yet developed, and it dislikes and suspects enthusiasm. While in this transition state it presents no rallying point. It must move others by its own energy, and warm them with its own fire. It formerly had energy to pull down, and brought others to unite and add to its numbers. But in a transition state it wraps itself up, like any other chrysalis, in its own envelope, and waits quietly for the change, that must come,

even when, like the chrysalis, it does not foresee the law nor the nature of the change. It does this, because such is its nature, and not because it considers and prefers.

We noticed also an expression of opinion by some, that Unitarianism had performed its work, expended its energies, and must come to an end as a distinct sect. If it has no work but to pull down error, this might be true. But the general view, taken of the subject in this article, makes it unnecessary to add anything on this head.

It seems as if enough had been said, to enable any one to infer how, according to this hypothesis, these difficulties would end. But a few words on this subject are added, to prevent all possibility of any mistake. If the theory of the three stages of a reforming party be true, and it be true also, that most of us are still in the second stage, but that a considerable number have passed and are passing into the third, the second being a transition state; we are, to use Talleyrand's phrase, at "the beginning of the end" of our transition from the first to the third stage.

When we have fairly entered the third stage, and again acquired the enthusiasm, which is necessary to the prosperity, and even the continuance of a denomination, the difficulties in the ministry will cease. The new interest inspired will make those, who feel it, ready with contributions or taxes for the support of worship. It is true, however, that the religious institutions supported must be the institutions of the third stage.

But some say openly and repeatedly, that the clergy will never change as the laity change. We have altered the form of the expression, but not the meaning, according to our theory. There is something rather personal and unpleasant in the discussion of this topic; but it cannot be avoided now. The clergy are men, subject to the same laws as other men. The very charge involves the fact, that they have been thus subject; for the preaching complained of is the preaching of the second stage, into which they changed from the first. They may not change so soon as the laity; but they are not to be blamed, if they do not. Being engaged in the religious services of each stage, they are not in fault, if being most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that stage, they do not free themselves from it so soon. Where they associate much with each other, they act on each other, and thus generate a

common state of opinions and feelings, which surrounds them like a common atmosphere, and diminishes external influence. In this they resemble the two other professions. Also being more at home and in their studies, and when abroad more spectators than actors, in the everyday business and stirring bustle of life, they do not feel so soon the contact of a change, which is taking place around them. How can they help this; especially if there is an unconscious want of openness in the intercourse of many with them, and sometimes an intentional concealment of any views, opinions, and feelings, differing from those, which they are supposed habitually and professionally to entertain? This intentional suppression of facts, disingenuous and deceptive as it is, is avowed and defended by some, on the ground, that a disclosure would obtain no belief, and occasion doubts of the speaker's good feelings toward the clergyman. So far as our experience goes, the result has been exactly the reverse. The clergy have shown themselves to be true men, deserving all confidence. If they have not, in former cases, changed as soon as the laity, they *always have* changed afterwards. After the reasons of the old faith (according to Jouffroy's description) had lost their power among the laity, and instead of resting on conviction, it stood on authority; that is, at the proper time, they denied, attacked, and refuted its errors. When the laity passed into the second stage with its dislike to controversy, they ceased from the attack; and even now, with some of them, the next change in preaching is already begun. They have often inquired concerning their changes of opinion about preaching, and have not always received any answer, where they might have expected it. There seems therefore to be no reason to charge them with any intention to resist the law of change; although it seems, that it does not operate on them so soon as on the laity.

With the difficulties in the support of the ministry will end the continual changes in the pastoral care, which now occur in parishes. With the returning interest, which removes these difficulties, the usefulness and reputation of the ministry must return and increase, and the discouragements, which prevent so many from entering and induce so many to leave it, will cease with their causes.

Whenever a sufficient number have passed into the third stage to constitute a body, it will be no longer necessary to seek sympathy elsewhere; and those, who would otherwise seek it among the Orthodox, will find it nearer.

The enthusiasm of that stage will remove all charges of coldness, and the spirit for foreign missions, which accompanies an affirmative faith, will be found among us, as in other denominations. The growth of the denomination, which diminished with the loss of the enthusiasm of the first stage, will return with the enthusiasm of the third, and the complaints of the third against the second must of course end with the existence of the latter.

Finally, what shall we do, if these things are so? If the third stage is to be the remedy for all evil, some will say, that we cannot hasten into it too fast. But a medicine may be a remedy for a disease, yet, if taken too rapidly, it may kill instead of curing. Full time should be given for causes to operate naturally, and we should enter the third stage by the regular course of the laws, which govern it, — neither resisting nor anticipating them, but trying to understand and obey them. One great evil of the transition state is the difference of opinion, incident to the building up of an affirmative faith. Another is the opposition occasioned by different states of feeling in different classes. The remedy for these is charity and patience. Without these we may not go safely through, but may throw off part of our body by the way. Increased religious intercourse, additional efforts for the support and increase of all our institutions, earnest, serious, warm, and devoted preaching, with such appeals to the heart and such a reasonable degree of religious enthusiasm, as the progress of the people can bear, are certainly safe methods of aiding the operation of the laws of change, without the danger of hurrying or anticipating them. Above all, it is in vain to resist the change; it is in the course of Providence, and is but the operation of the laws, by which God governs the world.

But the Unitarians in the first and second stage (if any of the former remain) must do something more than barely to avoid resistance; — they must cultivate as much sympathy with the enthusiasm of those in the third, as their habits will possibly permit. The latter are what the former have made them. The third stage is the consequence of the first and second, and the men of those stages ought not to complain of the work of their own hands, nor look upon it with doubt and distrust. The men of the third are their spiritual children, and although, like other children, they have grown up under different influences, and are different men from their parents, they are

to some extent what their parents have made them. This is always so. We speak of the effect of education and example; yet it never makes the second generation like the first, but carries them on so much farther in the progress of society. Have parents therefore no sympathy with the ideas, feelings, and pursuits of their children, because they differ from their own? Reason, expediency, and still more duty, demand patience and sympathy for this enthusiasm from those, who by the law of reform cannot feel much of it themselves.

So also those in the third stage are apt to think meanly and speak hardly of the moderation, coolness, and inactivity of the preceding stage. They do no justice to the efforts and struggles, the sacrifice of popularity, and often of peace and kind feelings, which these very men made in the first stage for the cause of truth. They do not reflect, that without the first and second stage, the third could never come,—that its affirmative doctrine is the offspring of the negative doctrine of the first, and was nursed in the quiet of the second, until it was old enough to speak,—that their small, though increasing number did not create the enthusiasm, which they feel; but that these very men, whom they undervalue, put in motion the causes, which, under the operation of natural laws, have at last generated it. They must not insist, that the laws of nature should be reversed, and that its parents should be its children. As well might they insist, that parents should share with their children the agility, sensitiveness, and emotion of youth. Instead of this, they should seek to have the benefit of their caution and experience, to direct and qualify their own enthusiasm, without suffering them to chill and destroy it. God has effected some of his purposes by the men of the past, and will effect others by the men of the future. They are both honored instruments. With mutual respect and good feeling all will go well; but power will be wasted and progress hindered by doubt and want of mutual confidence.

J. G. R.

- ART. III. — 1. *The Hour and the Man. An Historical Romance.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 2 vols. 12mo. Harper & Brothers. New York: 1841.
2. *The Settlers at Home.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 1 vol. 18mo. D. Appleton & Co. New York: 1841.
3. *The Peasant and the Prince.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 1 vol. 18mo. D. Appleton & Co. New York: 1841.
4. *Norway and the Norwegians; or, Feats of the Fiord.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. 1 vol. 18mo. D. Appleton & Co. New York: 1842.

WE doubt if a single person could be found, well acquainted with Miss Martineau and her books, who does not feel, that she has received little justice, as a writer or a woman. That the greatest injustice was done her in this country, after the greatest adulation, because she ventured to criticise our perfect institutions, and remark upon the doubtful habits of some of our people, that her chief sins were those of an abolitionist, a free speaker, a hasty observer, and sometimes pertinacious judge, liberal in religion, and radical in politics, and withal a foreigner and a female, furnish a good reason, if any were wanted, for giving her a calm hearing, now that the excitement has passed, and readers can take up her books without the fear of being laughed at, and editors do not feel compelled by policy to abuse one, of whom they know nothing. We have no thought of becoming panegyrists of this lady, or defenders at all points of assault. We have nothing to do with her peculiar opinions, we are not insensible of her peculiar dangers, nor are we anxious for her fame, knowing that it will take care of itself in due time. But we have absolute confidence in the superiority of her mind, the goodness of her heart, the warmth of her piety, her high moral courage, and the steadfastness of a faith, which has borne her tranquilly through years of suffering, and still keeps her cheerful and diligent, in the view of a surely, if not a rapidly, approaching death. We will render her our honest tribute. In these pages, where a notice of her later writings has been too long delayed, we will show at the least, however briefly or imperfectly, that it has been from no want of interest, respect, or gratitude.

We feel grateful to any one, whatever the individual opinions, whatever the occasional errors of judgment, who

writes in a way to interest and entertain, without violating moral sentiment, or rather, with such a clear moral tone pervading the whole, as to leave the most healthy impression. A spirit of the purest morality, of nice and just discrimination, of generous sympathy in all that is human, with fearless independence of thought and expression, seem to us the characteristics of Miss Martineau's mind and heart, as seen in her writings and acting through her life. And these are not common characteristics. They are not to be passed by with a sneer, because they may be tinged with some peculiarities of form or feelings. They are not to remain unnoticed and silently condemned, because rendered unpopular by certain heresies of a social or philosophical creed. A writer or speaker, male or female, forfeits no claim to our justice or generosity, on account of extravagant opinions, or bold assertions as to the rights of women, the sufferings of the slave, our institutions of government, or administration of religion. We have as little sympathy as any, with most of the modes and measures of modern fanaticism, and the ruthless radicalism of the day. But never will we suffer even those to rob us of common discrimination and common justice, or cause us to withhold our feeble testimony from any portion of intrinsic excellence, unquestionable truth, merited reproof, wholesome counsel, or resolute and disinterested adherence to an offensive opinion, or an unpopular cause. We burn with shame and indignation, when we see a pure and noble-minded woman, firm in Christian faith, and unfaltering in the Christian life, treated with the greatest inconsistency and neglect, while a licentious outcast, an open offender against the first laws of God and man, a vile seducer, and unblushing adulterer, is welcomed, followed, rewarded, defended, by men and women, by religious professors, and moral editors, and Christian patterns. It will be a sad chapter in our history, if the fact be established, that the surest way for a foreigner or native to obtain favor among us, as a writer or lecturer, whatever his moral character, is to offend no national vanity, no orthodox creed of religion or philosophy, no present interest of individuals or States. We have no confidence in the morality of policy, or of mere decency, but we have great confidence in the morality of the Gospel. We do not believe that any principle which is destitute of faith and comes short of piety, will purchase salvation in this life or another. But as little do we believe, that any liberality or orthodoxy, which

confounds moral distinctions and screens moral offences, which swerves from the highest principles of right, or is false to the best dictates of humanity, and those only enduring interests, which belong to *character*, will save any one here or hereafter.

The morality inculcated in the writings of Miss Martineau is of the soundest kind. It does not confine itself to the outward man, or the estimate of the world; but goes into the recesses of the heart, the control of the temper, the kindly offices of private life, and the character of that truest of schools, love. We could find illustrations of this, in one of her larger books, written earlier than those named at the head of this article. We mean *DEERBROOK*. It is among the singular fortunes of books, that this has been so little read or valued. Yet it has been gratifying to find, how well it is appreciated by the more intelligent and discriminating readers. It is indeed no book for the mere lovers of fiction and excitement. It has little of plot or passion or highly wrought scene. It is diffuse to a fault, and its best characters and descriptions are wound round with those petty details of everyday life, which to many are little better than gossip. Yet it is this everyday life, after all, that tests the man and shows the man. Most skilfully is it managed here. Few books within our knowledge give a better picture of some of the greatest weaknesses, and some of the noblest virtues of human nature; while in the delineation of female excellence, we know not its equal.

Of the three smaller tales, named above, the last that have been received from the author, little need be said. They are well suited to their place and object. Without ambition, and partly, we are told, for an honorable support, Miss Martineau is contributing to this excellent series, published under the title of "*Tales for the People and their Children*." She has given to these before us a great variety of scene, and a moving interest. *Settlers at Home* finds its subject in England, and is an unusual, some may think, an unnatural picture of the cruel hostility of neighbors, and the perseverance of children in overcoming evil with good; while it has many touches of true and beautiful pathos. *The Peasant and Prince* goes to France for its materials, and gives a simple, well drawn narrative of the eventful reign, the weak follies, the singular flight, and the mournful death of Louis XVI., in a way to convey the best moral lessons, and at the same time, engage common and

youthful minds in the great study of history and men. *Norway and the Norwegians*, taking us to a far different scene, and a people, the most opposite to those presented in either of the former tales, introduces us to a region, customs, superstitions, modes of life, and manifestations of character, full of interest from their novelty, and having other charms beside. We have seldom seen simplicity of heart and a natural faith more pleasantly delineated. We confess a deep interest in reading these stories, juvenile as they are ; and an interest not destitute of instruction, or profit. There is that wonderful variety, yet distinctness of character, that simple thought, directness, and childlike truthfulness, that appeared in the "Illustrations of Political Economy," which were received and read with so much pleasure, at least, as stories, before the writer became suspicious on other accounts. When shall we learn to exercise the same charity and use the same discrimination, in regard to social and political differences, that we are accustomed to exercise, or to demand, for the endless diversity of religious opinions and prejudice ?

The Hour and the Man, of which we propose to speak at some length, may be thought to stand even more in need of charity, than anything which has come from the writer. That it betrays the bias of strong prepossessions, few will deny. Miss Martineau is not used to weigh cautiously every word, where she is sure of the truth, or fact. She does not seem even to give a single thought to what others may think of that, which she is speaking, or writing. This is not the way to be popular ; and we see the consequence. It is not the best way to save ourselves from haste in judgment, or our readers from error of conclusion ; and they have not been saved in the present instance. We say this, however, of some of the author's former writings, rather than the latter. "The Hour and the Man" is in some views the most important work she has published, and to our minds one of the most true and valuable. Its interest is intense ; the combined interest of history and fiction. Nor can we find that the history is spoiled by the fiction. It is difficult, to be sure, it always has been, perhaps always will be difficult, to get at the exact truth of the revolutionary story of St. Domingo, with which this work is exclusively occupied. The first accounts of that revolution came from the French, of all people the least capable, especially in this connexion, of being impartial. These accounts, too, were received, extended,

and transmitted, by men involved in the revolution at home, steeped in the politics, wild with the philosophy, maddened by the passions and horrors of those worst days of France. Were these the men or the times for a calm history of one of Napoleon's wild and disastrous schemes, or a dispassionate account of the MAN, regarded, say many, as a rival, whose peaceful home he wantonly invaded, whose confiding people he estranged or made miserable, whose sacred person he basely entrapped, imprisoned, and buried from his family and the world forever?

This is the eventful chapter in the world's conflicts, which Miss Martineau has written, as an "Historical Romance." And if she has thrown around the leading events and characters a drapery, which seems indeed romantic; if she has found it difficult, and sometimes failed to glean the truths from the many partial and discordant narratives; if her previous bias inclined her to some exaggeration of the greatness or goodness of her hero and his friends; if, moreover, an English mind may be supposed to see the worst of French atrocities; we can pardon it without taxing our justice in the least, or taking credit for charity. In truth, the best examination, we have been able to make of other authorities, brings us to the conclusion, that this sketch, in all that is essential, is accurate; though we by no means pretend to such a thorough knowledge of the subject, as would enable us to assert it confidently.

The chief doubt pertains to the character of the Hero of the tale, TOUSSAINT. This was confessedly one of the remarkable men of the world. And such were his fortunes, that if, in any case, the historian or the biographer may be allowed a generous sympathy, approaching extravagance, and pressing truth seemingly into romance, it is here. We supposed on the first reading of the book, that this view must be extravagant, and the whole picture colored with the romantic. But for this opinion we do not find support. The view is not new. More than twenty years ago there appeared an able article in the *London Quarterly Review*,* containing statements, which fully authorize the views here given, and seem to have been drawn from the best sources, as Miss Martineau shows in an Appendix to the *Hour and the Man*. Of this book itself we shall give the best idea, and make perhaps the best

* No. XLII.

use of the space allowed us, by offering a brief sketch of the man, a sketch not resting on this tale alone, but confirmed by it, and indicating its character. We will here say, that the writer seems to have been most diligent and deliberate in her examination and use of materials, having, as she says, "for some years read whatever came within my reach, on the subject of my present work," and referring the reader to the principal authorities for his own satisfaction.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, the negro chief, was born a slave in St. Domingo, about the year 1745. All accounts speak of his early character as marked by thoughtfulness and patience, mildness and benevolence, with a great love of children and kindness to animals. Though surrounded by laxity and impurity, he attached himself to one wife, to whom he remained always faithful. The planter, with whom he lived and worked, M. Bagou, gave him the means of learning to read and write, and he is said to have made great proficiency in various branches of knowledge. Rainsford, in his "Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti," gives a catalogue of his favorite books, which to our white prejudices has the aspect of fiction, extending to many of the historians and classics, as Cæsar, Herodotus, Plutarch, Socrates, &c. Subsequent events prove, however, that Toussaint had a strong, inquiring, and well disciplined, if not a cultivated mind, giving him a vast superiority over his own countrymen, and no little respect and influence with the planters.

The first important event of his life, known to us, is that with which the present story opens; the general rising of the blacks, in August, 1791. This insurrection Toussaint seems to have opposed, and greatly lamented. And when at last it broke forth irresistibly, he steadily refused to take any part in it, until he had secured the safety of his master, and sent him with his family, well supplied, to Baltimore. He then joined his countrymen; and having some knowledge of simples, was made physician, according to some authorities, to the forces under Jean Francois, whose Aid he also became, then Colonel, and was next appointed General, for his good service in reducing the blacks to order, and recovering the northern parts of the island from the Spaniards. Soon after, the Governor, La-reaux, whom Toussaint rescued from an insurrection of the mulattoes, made him his Lieutenant, expressing his opinion of the man, in these words; "It is this black, this Spartacus, predicted by Raynal, who is destined to avenge the outrages com-

mitted against his whole race." From this time, Toussaint exercised a power, and possessed a degree of confidence, that seemed unlimited. Nor do we find positive proof, that he ever abused this power. The general charge of cruelty is brought against him by some writers, but we find no evidence of it. Severe he was in his discipline, unsparing in the punishment of offenders and traitors, though of his chosen friends and his own family. But in his habitual treatment of all who were true, he was kind and encouraging, and exerted over them an astonishing influence. He inculcated strict morality, restrained customary indecency, upheld religion by enactment and example, promoted cheerfulness with sobriety, and avowed his great principle to be "No Retaliation." His whole example and observance indicate a true and devout Christian. Yet many writers treat him as a hypocrite. He may have been so, but the proofs do not appear.

During the period of which we speak, the close of the last century, Toussaint avowed loyalty to the French, and received with courtesy the French commissioners; but directed all their movements, protected the planters from their oppression, and saved both from the jealousy of the negroes. By his ability, with a mingling, no doubt, of management, many say of extreme craftiness, he contrived to retain all the power; and when the commissioners complained, sent them home with little ceremony. At the same time he sent two of his sons to be educated in France, partly for their benefit, partly to show his confidence in the Directory. The French officers once said to him, that he ought himself to go to France, and end his days there in repose. "That," said he, "is what I intend, as soon as this (pointing to a small shrub) shall be large enough to construct a vessel to take me there." Vanity was evidently and very naturally one of his failings; and ambition as naturally, though as free from selfishness and tyranny, if we may rely at all on the testimony of some of the best writers, as it often is in the breast of a powerful and idolized chieftain. We smile, rather than wonder, if he loved to be called "First of the Blacks," in reference to Napoleon, "First of the Whites." For that conqueror he had for a time the highest reverence, and was mortified, that the letters he wrote to him were not answered by the First Consul himself. He did, however, obtain from him, in 1797, the commission of General-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo. From this time he labored vigorously,

and at last successfully, to free the island from the presence of the British ; and in 1798 General Maitland signed with him a treaty for the evacuation of all the posts he held. It is in proof of the confidence that Toussaint inspired, and an answer to the charges sometimes brought against him, that previous to disembarking his troops, General Maitland travelled through a large extent of country, filled with armed negroes, with only three attendants. And when Roume, the French commissioner, wrote to Toussaint, advising him to seize his guest, Maitland, though apprised of the fact, still proceeded, in full reliance on the honor of the noble black. On his return to the camp, Toussaint gave him two open letters, with these frank words ; " There, general, before we talk together, read these ; one is a letter from the French commissary, the other is my answer. I could not see you till I had written my reply, that you might be satisfied how safe you were with me, and how incapable I am of baseness." This illustrative anecdote comes on the authority of the writer in the *Quarterly Review* of 1819.

We come to the critical and closing incidents of this singular life. They are too well known, to be given at length. But they are too marked and mournfully instructive, we may add, they are too well drawn in "*The Hour and the Man*," to be passed in silence. St. Domingo was in the highest state of prosperity. " The colony, says Lacroix, advanced as if by enchantment towards its ancient splendor ; cultivation was extended with such rapidity, that every day made its progress perceptible. All appeared to be happy, and regarded Toussaint as their guardian angel. In making a tour of the island, he was hailed by the negroes with universal joy." This was the moment seized by insatiate ambition, for the perpetration of a deed, which has stained humanity with a deeper dye than that of the Ethiopian. Napoleon was oppressed with peace after the treaty of Amiens ; and whether ruled by his demon of mere conquest, or vexed by a spirit of petty jealousy, incredible in any other man similarly placed, or thirsting for the " hidden treasures " in St. Domingo, of which rumor reached him, and possessed his soldiery and agents to the last, he resolved upon the total subjection of the fair island. In 1801, under the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, he sent over a fleet of 25,000 men, the flower of the French army, with Toussaint's sons, as hostages, who were to work on their father's feelings, and induce or compel him to betray his

country. He remained firm ; not unfeeling, but unsubdued ; and sacrificing all private wishes to the public faith. Numbers, aided by bribes and menace to his simple followers, soon overpowered him, and he consented to a proffered truce, by whose terms the safety of his person and property was sacredly pledged. The pledge was basely violated. Toussaint was treacherously seized by night, hurried with his family on board a ship of war, a hundred of his confidential friends sent to the waiting ship, and heard of no more, and he kept a close prisoner, separated from his wife and children on the passage to France, ordered to take leave of them forever on the arrival at Brest, then conducted to the castle of Joux in Normandy with a single attendant, and immured in a cold, wet, gloomy dungeon,—his designed and speedy sepulchre !

Such at least is the received opinion. All that is positively known of the death of this doomed man is, that he was perfidiously snatched from his peaceful retreat, borne over the water in irons, torn from his family, whose subsequent fate is uncertain, and buried in the fastnesses of a heartless murderer. Miss Martineau tells us, in her Appendix, that she recently visited the castle of Joux, and that the picture, she has given of its dreariness and fatal damp, is not in the least exaggerated. A part of that picture, as found in the story, we would here transfer,—the only extract we can make, and a very imperfect one, yet possessing a melancholy interest.

“A few, and but a few more moments he had, while the drawbridge was lowered, the portcullis was raised, and the guard sent in with some order from his officer. Toussaint well knew that that little plot of fields, with its winding stream, was the last verdure that he might ever see. The snowy summits which peered over the fir-tops were prophets of death to him ; for how should he, who had gone hither and thither under the sun of the tropics for sixty years, live chained among the snows ? Well did he know this : yet he did not wait to be asked to pass the bridge.

“The drawbridge and the courtyard were both deserted. Not a soldier was to be seen. Mars Plaisir muttered his astonishment ; but his master understood that the presence of negro prisoners in this fortress was not to become known. He read in this incident a prophecy of total seclusion.

“They were marched rapidly through the courtyard into a dark passage, where they were desired to stop. In a few moments Toussaint heard the tramp of feet about the gate, and

understood that the soldiers had been ordered back to their posts.

“‘The commandant!’ the officer announced to his prisoners; and the Commandant Rubaut entered the dim passage. Toussaint formed his judgment of him, to a certain extent, in a moment. Rubaut endeavored to assume a tone of good-humored familiarity; but there appeared through this a mis-giving as to whether he was thus either letting himself down, on the one hand, or, on the other, encroaching on the dignity of the person he addressed. His prisoner was a negro; but then he had been the recognised Commander-in-chief of St. Domingo. One symptom of awkwardness was, that he addressed Toussaint with no sort of title.

“‘We have had notice of your approach,’ said he; ‘which is fortunate, as it enables me at once to conduct you to your apartment. Will you proceed? This way. A torch, Bellines! We have been looking for you these two days: which happens very well, as we have been enabled to prepare for you. Torches, Bellines! This way. We mount a few steps, you perceive. We are not taking you under ground, though I call for lights; but this passage to the left, you perceive, is rather dark. Yes, that is our well; and a great depth it is,—deeper, I assure you, than this rock is high. What do they call the depth, Chalôt? Well, never mind the depth! You can follow me, I believe, without waiting for light. We cannot go wrong. Through this apartment to the left.’

“Toussaint, however, chose to wait for Bellines and his torch. He chose to see what he could of the passages of his prison. If this vault in which he stood were not under ground, it was the dreariest apartment from which the daylight had ever been built out. In the moment’s pause occasioned by his not moving on when desired, he heard the dripping of water as in a well.

“Bellines appeared, and his torch showed the stone walls of the vault shining with the trickling of water. A cold steam appeared to thicken the air, oppress the lungs, and make the torch burn dim.

“‘To what apartment can this be the passage?’ thought Toussaint. ‘The grave is warm compared with this.’

“A glance of wretchedness from Mars Plaisir, seen in the torch light, as Bellines passed on to the front, showed that the poor fellow’s spirits, and perhaps some visions of a merry life among the soldiers, had melted already in the damps of this vault. Rubaut gave him a push, which showed that he was to follow the torchbearer.

"Through this vault was a passage, dark, wet, and slippery. In the left-hand wall of this passage was a door, studded with iron nails, thickly covered with rust. The key was in this door. During the instant required for throwing it wide, a large flake of ice fell from the ceiling of the passage upon the head of Toussaint. He shook it off, and it extinguished the torch.

" 'You mean to murder us,' said he, 'if you propose to place us here. Do you not know that ice and darkness are the negro's poison? Snow too,' he continued, advancing to the cleft of his dungeon wall, at the outward extremity of which was his small grated window. 'Snow piled against this window now! We shall be buried under it in winter.'

" 'You will have good fires in winter.'

" 'In winter! Yes! This night, or I shall never see winter.'

" 'This night! Oh, certainly. You can have a fire, though it is not usual with us at this season. Bellines—a fire here immediately.'

"He saw his prisoner surveying, by the dim light of the deep window, the miserable cell,—about twenty-eight feet by thirteen, built of blocks of stone, its vaulted ceiling so low that it could be touched by the hand; its floor, though planked, rotten and slippery with wet; and no furniture to be seen but a table, two chairs, and two heaps of straw in opposite corners.

" 'I am happy,' said the commandant, 'to have been able to avoid putting you under ground. The orders I have had, from the First Consul himself, as to your being *mis au secret*, are very strict. Notwithstanding that, I have been able, you see, to place you in an apartment which overlooks the courtyard; and which, too, affords you other objects,' pointing through the gratings to the few feet of the pavement without, and the few yards of the perpendicular rock opposite, which might be seen through the loophole.

" 'How many hours of the day and night are we to pass in this place?'

" 'How many hours? We reckon twenty-four hours to the day and night, as is the custom in Europe,' replied Rubaut; whether in ignorance or irony, his prisoner could not, in the dim twilight, ascertain. He only learned too surely, that no exit from this cell was to be allowed.

"Firewood and light were brought. Rubaut, eager to be busy till he could go, and to be gone as soon as possible, found fault with some long-deceased occupant for having covered its arched ceiling with grotesque drawings in charcoal, and then with Bellines for not having dried the floor. Truly, the light gleam-

ed over it as over a pond. Bellines pleaded in his defence, that the floor had been dried twice since morning, but that there was no stopping the melting of the ice above. The water would come through the joints till the winter frosts set in.

“‘Ay, the winter frosts, — they will set all to rights. They will cure the melting of the ice, no doubt.’ Turning to his prisoners, he congratulated himself on not being compelled to search their persons. The practice of searching was usual, but might, he rejoiced to say, be dispensed with on the present occasion. He might now, therefore, have the pleasure of wishing them a good evening.

“Pointing to the two heaps of straw, he begged that his prisoners would lay down their beds in any part of the cell which pleased them best. Their food, and all that they wanted, would be brought to the door regularly. As for the rest, they would wait upon each other. Having thus exhausted his politeness, he quitted the cell; and lock, bolt, and bar were fastened upon the captives.” — Vol. II. pp. 54 – 57.

Beside the moving history of Toussaint, Miss Martineau has introduced most of the leading men of that revolution, and has given, it is believed, faithful, though perhaps in some instances too favorable delineations of their characters. Of these the most important of the blacks are DESALINES, who succeeded Toussaint in the government of the island, under the title of *Jacques I., Emperor of Hayti*, CHRISTOPHE, his successor, calling himself *Henry I.*, and MOYSE, a young and intrepid officer, whom, though a nephew, Toussaint gave up to military execution for disregard of his orders, for the protection of the colonists. This incident, with Moyse’s attachment and affianced devotion to Toussaint’s daughter, causing the father a severe struggle, but not withholding the sacrifice to public duty, gives a thrilling interest to a large part of the story. There are of course several fictitious characters, but they are subordinate. To some they will seem improbable, especially in the refinement of their manners, and the elevation of their sentiments. And probably there is exaggeration here. We find a strain of conversation often, which induces an incredulous smile. It were foolish to deny, that in the filling up of the tale the author has given her fancy bold freedom; and as foolish to expect it would seem otherwise, in an historical romance, of which the chief personages are of so degraded a race. Two things are to be remembered in all such criticism. This very race are of all people most imitative in their manners, dress,

customs, and conversation ; so that their constant intercourse with Europeans, renders these appearances of refinement much more probable than at first thought. And again, it is to be considered, that by education and habit *we* are prone to doubt, or to ridicule, all such appearances in the blacks.

For ourselves, setting aside the question of merit in the execution, we cordially thank Miss Martineau for avowing and awakening a generous sympathy, in the fortunes of one of the most remarkable and noble of men, and in the perils and struggles, the virtues and even the vices, of a down-trodden people. They have our sympathies to the utmost extent. We recognise them,—we are almost ashamed to say it, as if it were necessary or condescending,—we recognise them as of our kind and kindred, having claims, such as no others on the earth now have, to our justice and brotherly-kindness. We mourn over their degradation, as the foulest blot ever fastened upon the Caucasian race. We look upon this invasion of St. Domingo, with the inhuman plot that finished the tragedy in the destruction of the victim, and the immolation of thousands of his own countrymen, as adding indelible infamy, if any remained to be added, to the name of Napoleon. And we are but faintly relieved, when we turn to our own land, and know that victim after victim, thousand upon thousand, of these same human beings, for no sin but that of the color which their God has given them, are all the time suffering an indisputable wrong, and liable, — the least, that can be said, and to be said in the best cases, — *liable* to outrage and inhumanity, only less distinguished than those visited upon Toussaint. Fearful indeed is the account to be rendered, still gathering and darkening, by those, who, in a republican government, a land of proud liberty, and the nineteenth century of Christian privilege and obligation, are holding millions of their fellow creatures in a bondage as opposite to the Christian law and liberty, as darkness to noon-day. It is idle, perfectly idle, to pretend that slavery, in its mildest form, with its unavoidable exposure to the worst abuses, its admitted temptation to selfishness and lust, its inherent violation of the first principles of right, its legalized traffic in human flesh and affections, can be in any way defended, or saved from future universal reprobation. It is heaping wrong upon wrong, to pass it over with calling it “a necessary evil.” Slavery a necessary evil, in the dominion of a righteous God, and among free and Christian

men? We have nothing to say of measures. We have no alliance and little faith in combinations. We can never join, and will never do aught but oppose, all spirit of intolerance and indiscriminate denunciation. We know slaveholders, in whose humanity and piety we have perfect confidence, and slaves, whose condition is surrounded with all the blessings, that this humanity and piety can bestow. Our prayers shall never rise with less fervor, or less charity, for the masters than for the servants. Nor will we cease to pray for the conversion of those among us, who confine all their sympathy to one side, and refuse to take into account any difficulties or the best desires. But what has this to do with the great question? Is slavery a crying wrong, a tremendous curse? Can it be abolished? It can. Let those, to whom it cleaves, once say unitedly and religiously it *shall*, — and it *can*.

We again thank this writer, and every writer, who does anything to quicken our sense of relation and obligation to the oppressed of the human family. And believing that little, if any more than justice has here been done to the greatness and the wrongs of the First of the Blacks, we add the merited tribute of Wordsworth, written during the unknown issue.

"Toussaint, the most unhappy man of men!
Whether the whistling rustic tend his plough
Within thy hearing, or thy head be now
Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den:
Oh, miserable chieftain! where and when
Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not; do thou
Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow:
Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies.
There's not a breathing of the common wind,
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind."

Since writing the above, we have received and read another book from Miss Martineau, as a continuation of the series of "Tales for the People and their Children." And we wish to notice it here, both for its own excellence, and because it is said by some of the English reviewers, who commend it highly, to be the last work of any kind that we may expect from the

same hand. We sincerely hope this is not so. If the writer be not actually disabled, she should not withhold herself from a work and a province, for which she is peculiarly qualified. We say this in no reviewer's spirit, but with deep and grateful conviction. From her first book of this humble cast, "*Traditions of Palestine*," to the last now before us, we find a power and an interest which are not common. *The Crofton Boys* is founded in a fact in the life of Walter Scott, and is an unpretending, but fascinating account of an English High School, with all its privileges and all its dangers and evils. Running through the whole there is an elevated moral tone, a lofty principle of right, a reverence for God, and power of faith, which must carry blessings to every young mind, and which, we believe, have been the blessing, as they have been the inward life and sustaining trust, of Harriet Martineau.

E. B. H.

ART. IV.—ON INSPIRATION.

WERE the Bible merely a series of historical works, or did it relate to matters of secondary interest and moment, we should be fully satisfied, could we establish the genuineness and authenticity of the several books which it contains. But the most honest men are liable to error, especially in quoting the sayings of others on abstract and spiritual subjects; and on subjects of this kind a very slight misrecollection might materially pervert the sense of what was uttered. How know we, then, but that the evangelists, though honest men, may, by the frailty of their own understandings and memories, have grossly misrepresented the language and spirit of Jesus? Some of these books, too, are not in a narrative form, but didactic and doctrinal; and if they were written by fallible, yet honest men, without any peculiar illumination from heaven, how know we, that they are always sound in their counsels and right in their judgments? How can we assure ourselves, that they have not erred widely on matters both of doctrine and duty, as have many wise and honest men before and since?

These questions throw open the whole subject of inspiration; and it may be well for us to enter upon our inquiry with

just notions of its magnitude. How much then does it involve? Does it cover the whole ground between Christian faith and infidelity? By no means. Whoever receives the history of Jesus as authentic, has within his reach enough of unquestionable truth to serve as the basis of Christian character. No one can believe the evangelists to have been honest men, without believing the principal facts in the life of Jesus and the essential doctrines of his religion. But the difference lies here. He, who regards the sacred writers as divinely inspired, deems himself possessed of an unerring guide, as to all the minutæ of doctrine, of an infallible compass for his whole path in life. His only question is "What say the law and the testimony?" That settled, he need seek no farther. He, on the other hand, who denies inspiration, while he would feel satisfied with regard to great truths, might be uncertain as to many lesser, yet important points; might often doubt whether the apostles spoke after the mind of Christ, or uttered their own fallible judgments; and thus, where the voice of Scripture was entirely clear, might be painfully perplexed as to the way of truth and duty.

But what is *inspiration*? We mean by this word, in its application to the Scriptures, *a divine influence exerted upon the minds of the sacred writers, to aid them in the exhibition of truth, and to save them from hurtful error*. No one, we presume, at the present day, would maintain that the very words of Scripture were dictated by the divine spirit; that the genealogies in the first book of Chronicles were breathed from heaven into the author's mind; that there was anything supernatural in Paul's sending for his cloak and parchment; in fine, that the sacred writings were the mere channels of revelation. We observe in each of these writers peculiarities, and sometimes imperfections of style, such as would naturally grow out of his education, mode of life, and temperament. Amos, the herdsman of Tekoah, writes in a much simpler style, and with a much greater affluence of rural imagery, than Isaiah and Ezekiel, whose condition in life seems to have differed widely from his. How easy is it to trace the impetuous Peter, the modest and affectionate John, the glowing and devoted Paul, in their respective writings! But if the words of the Bible were dictated by God, instead of this great diversity of style, we should expect to see the whole Bible written in one unvarying style of unique grandeur. This strict verbal inspiration would detract greatly from the value of some portions of

Scripture, particularly of the devotional parts ; for their worth consists in their being the expressions of devout feeling on the part of their authors, — upbreathings of hearts touched with a living coal from God's altar, and enabled to light a kindred flame in other souls, and thus to furnish examples and forms for the devotion of all coming times. We doubt not that the Jewish minstrels drank deeply from the same fountain of inspiration, from which the prophets drew their marvelous foreknowledge ; but, if God dictated the very words of the Psalms, they cease to be specimens of human devotion, and appropriate models for man, and present to us the solecism of the Almighty praying to himself, and chanting his own praises. As to the merely historical parts of the Bible, if the authors knew, either by revelation, by their observation and experience, or by means of authentic documents already extant, the facts which they related, they had no need of verbal inspiration to enable them to tell their stories faithfully. Moreover, on him, who should maintain the necessity of verbal inspiration for the original writers of the Old and New Testament, would rest the burden of showing, why like inspiration is not equally necessary for all *translators* of the Bible. In fact, the question of verbal inspiration, did it admit of being agitated, would be barely one of vain curiosity. It has ceased to be of any practical moment, since the Hebrew and the Greek became dead languages.

But, while we believe that the sacred writers wrote each in his own style, and with a large degree of freedom, we maintain, that they were inspired, that their minds were preternaturally enlightened and guided, that holy men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. For, in the first place, the idea of inspiration is in strict accordance with reason and intrinsic probability. We cannot deny to the Father of man's spirit that power of direct and recognised communication with it, which he has granted to fellow men. We cannot suppose that God has opened the soul to the inbreathings of other souls, and left us no avenue for the entrance of his own voice. No ; if man has a soul, God must have the key to its every apartment, and must needs have at his command even those modes of access and forms of speech, which, for good reasons, he rarely sees fit to use.

Again, we believe that miracles were wrought for the establishment both of Judaism and Christianity. Why is it less probable, that miracles should have been wrought for the faith-

ful transmission of their records? If to plant the reign of truth and righteousness upon the earth was an object of sufficient moment to disturb the laws, which nature had for ages kept, surely to perpetuate that same reign on the solid basis of infallible testimony was an object amply worthy of the equally magnificent, though less conspicuous miracle of inspiration.

We are also predisposed to believe in the inspiration of the sacred writers, by the conscious wants of our own natures. We feel the need not only of a general faithful guide, but of one, that we can trust as to all the details of truth and duty, — of records, which shall be to us, in things pertaining to godliness and a life to come, what a parent's words are to the confiding ear of infancy. We cannot bear to be left in doubt on subjects so momentous even in their least imposing aspects. The infallibility of Jesus himself affords no sufficient basis for implicit, childlike faith, if those, who recorded his sayings and pencilled the first developments of his truth, were liable to the common mistakes of unlettered and unexperienced biographers and interpreters. Our Jesus is the Jesus of their gospels and epistles; and it matters little, that the living person bore the express image and uttered the express words of God, if they were liable to gross error in painting that image and recording those words.

But it may be asked; Is there no basis for the plenary authority and virtual infallibility of the sacred writers, short of their inspiration in a peculiar and exclusive sense? To say nothing in this connexion of the Old Testament, if the apostles were honest men, may we not rely upon them as amply competent, without supernatural aid, to be both the biographers and the expositors of Jesus? They were long with him; must not every principle of his religion have so stamped itself upon their hearts, must not his spirit have so permeated their whole mental and moral being, as to take away the very power of mistake or failure? Must not their familiarity with him have done for them all, that express inspiration could have done? We reply, that in the connexion of the apostles with our Saviour, there were many circumstances, which seemed to render some subsequent illumination necessary, in order to their being faithful historians and expositors. From our Saviour's baptism to his ascension there was the space of only sixteen months; and, though his principal disciples were with him at intervals during the whole of this time, there intervened but

seven months between the call of the twelve and the ascension ; and, even for a part of that period, they were absent from him on their mission among the villages, whither he was to follow them. Much of their intercourse with him was in the distracting presence of multitudes, much of it at times of fatigue, persecution, want, and fear. And, what is more to the point, according to their own account, they were ignorant of his true character till after his ascension. On the very ascension morning, they asked him, "Lord wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" They must therefore have listened to him all along with erroneous impressions. They understood not a large part of what he said, at the time when he uttered it. His true glory was veiled from them, while they were with him. They saw and heard through a false medium, and could not, therefore, in all cases have derived true and just ideas from what they saw and heard. But what we misunderstand we are prone to misremember, and, however honestly and unconsciously, to misrepresent; nor, when we get the right key to conversations and events, which we have once misunderstood, is it easy to apply it to them retrospectively, so as to restore them in their original fulness and significancy, and to make them, in our own minds and in the narration of them to others, just what they would have been, had we possessed the key at the outset. According to the common laws of mind, the New Testament must have been tinged throughout by the early misapprehensions of its authors, and must have presented in biography and in doctrine a double, a Janus-faced image, made up of the temporal Messiah, whom the apostles at first expected, and of that spiritual Redeemer, with whom, after the ascension, they ascertained that they had lived and walked. We thus should have had insufficient and unsatisfying Scriptures. But this is not the case. The only vestiges of these misapprehensions are in the repeated record of the fact, that they existed. Both biography and doctrine are of one shape and hue,—present a fabric entire and seamless as the Saviour's own tunic, and are throughout adapted to the higher views of their Master's mission and character, which ensued upon his departure from earth. Now this fact constitutes to our mind, in behalf of the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament, a presumptive argument too strong to be passed by without notice, though in introducing the subject, we intended to speak only of the necessity for inspiration growing out of

these misapprehensions, which existed during our Saviour's lifetime.

For the reasons, which we have stated, religious books written by inspired men are within the range of antecedent probability, and of reasonable expectation and desire. But how far should we antecedently expect the inspiration of the sacred writers to extend? So far, we reply, as is needful "for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness," — so far as is necessary to afford an infallible guide in matters of religious faith and duty. Up to this point we should expect, at least for the sacred writers of the latter and more perfect dispensation, plenary inspiration. But here inspiration must cease. We should not expect to see miracles wrought, (and inspiration is a miracle,) for other than religious ends; for no lower ends seem of sufficient moment to outweigh the advantages resulting from an undisturbed course of nature. We may therefore, consistently with the highest views of religious inspiration, suppose that the sacred writers were left to their own wisdom and research, with regard to such merely secular details as were within their reach; that they copied from ancient chronicles, compiled their genealogies from previously existing tables, and trusted to their own unaided memories for those minute and incidental circumstances, which had no religious bearing. This theory of inspiration may also be reconciled with any alleged imperfection of style in the sacred writings, with the slight discrepancies between the gospel narratives, with scientific inaccuracies in the Old or New Testament, in fine with whatever objections have any other than a strictly religious aspect. While we would contend that, in a religious point of view, plenary inspiration pervades these records, we would regard and criticise them in every other aspect, as the writings of men, of like passions, infirmities, and errors with other men of their own times and nation.

We now proceed to consider the positive grounds, on which this idea of inspiration rests. We will look first at the New Testament.

The following are some of our Lord's promises to his apostles before his death. "I will pray the Father, and he will give you another helper, even the spirit of truth." "He will guide you into all truth. He will take of mine and show it unto you." "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto

you." Here is an express promise of two things, first, of a supernatural enlightening of the minds of the apostles with regard to religious truth, and, secondly, of a supernatural quickening of their recollections, with regard to what Jesus had said while he was with them. If the above quoted words of Jesus do not mean as much as this, they mean nothing. But the scene, at which they were uttered, was too solemn and too sad for unmeaning hyperbole. The Master was just leaving his frail and trembling company of apostles, and professed to be giving them precepts and promises for their guidance and comfort, when he should have gone from them; and it is a gross insult upon his spirit to maintain, that, at such a season, he should have fed them upon the wind, should have made a parade of oriental metaphor, and employed words, which literally denote a divine inspiration, to express no more than must happen to them according to the common laws of mind. But were the recollections of Matthew and John thus miraculously quickened? When may we cherish the undoubting assurance, that Jesus was, said, and did all that they represent him to have been, said, and done? Was the whole system of Christian doctrine and duty thus preternaturally laid open to John and James, Peter and Jude? Did the spirit of truth guide them into all truth, as Jesus had promised them? When may we rest assured, that their epistles contain neither doctrines nor precepts of man's device, but the truth and will of God? We may trace also in these epistles a consciousness of inspiration. For instance, Peter in his second epistle thus classes himself and his fellow apostles with the prophets, to whom we well know that they ascribed divine inspiration. "That ye may be mindful of the words, which were spoken before by *the holy prophets*, and of the commandments of *us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour*."

Paul was not one of the twelve; but if he was a sane and honest man, he was equally inspired with them. He repeatedly, and in a great variety of forms, professes inspiration. Such is undeniably the import of passages like the following; "The gospel, which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, nor was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." "Which things we teach, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the holy spirit teacheth." "We speak as of God." "If any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him

acknowledge that the things, which I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord." Again, speaking of his system of doctrine, Paul says, "Ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God." And again, in a similar connexion; "He that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his holy spirit." Now let him, who thinks that St. Paul intended to express, by words like these, only the fact, that he had the same kind of inspiration, which every good man has, try the case by supposing any good man of his acquaintance to use similar language. Would not any man, of however high spiritual attainments, who in our day should talk thus about himself, be regarded by every sober mind, as either an impostor or a madman? These passages either mean nothing, or they denote divine inspiration in the special and exclusive sense of the words; and, if St. Paul was an honest man and in full possession of his mental faculties, he was an inspired man.

There remain two of the evangelists, Mark and Luke, who were not apostles, who were not included in the Saviour's promise of divine illumination, and who make no professions of inspiration; who therefore may have been honest and faithful writers, without having been inspired. What shall we say of them? The question of their inspiration is of secondary importance; for,

1. Mark's gospel contains hardly anything not to be found in Matthew's or John's; and Luke's additional matter, though considerable in amount and of intense interest, could lay the foundation for no new doctrine or principle, but harmonizes entirely in tone and spirit with the narrative of the apostolic evangelists.

2. Though these two gospels do not bear the names of apostles, they were virtually apostolic productions. Mark was the intimate companion of Peter, and a tradition almost as old as his gospel, and transmitted without dispute, informs us that he wrote by Peter's dictation. Luke distinctly avows himself, in the preface of his gospel, to be only the penman of what he had received directly from the apostles; — "Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." As for the Acts of the Apostles, a large part of the book is mere history, and the record of scenes and events, of which Luke was an eyewitness. There is good reason to suppose, that he was present at the miracle of the

cloven tongues on the day of Pentecost; and in the latter part of the book, he expressly speaks of himself, as St. Paul's traveling companion, and in this part is evidently copying from a diary. There can exist no doubt, as to his competency to write a history of affairs, in which he had so deep a personal interest, especially as, unlike the apostles during our Saviour's lifetime, he understood the religion of which he was writing the history, and therefore saw things from the true point of view. Equally little doubt can there be, as to the decisive internal marks of accuracy and faithfulness, which this book presents.

Yet it seems to us highly probable, that Mark and Luke were inspired men; for,

1. We have reason to believe, that miraculous gifts and endowments were not confined to the apostles; and on whom else can we so readily suppose, that they would have been bestowed, as on the intimate and confidential friends of such men as Paul and Peter?

2. We find that from the earliest times Mark's and Luke's writings were regarded by the church, as of equal worth and authority with those of Matthew and John.

The internal character of the New Testament strongly confirms the view, which we have taken of the inspiration of its writers. Their style and tone are those of men, whom a divine spirit had lifted above the passions and prejudices of the multitude. The completeness of their works, viewed collectively, may be regarded as a presumptive argument of great weight in favor of their inspiration. We know not how sufficiently to admire the divine skill displayed by the evangelists. They are relating the godlike pilgrimage, works, and words of one, who came from God and went to God, of one, who stood out, alone of all beings that ever trod the earth, in the loftiness of his character, in the sanctity and vastness of his mission. Their narrative is brief, — it is crowded full with marvel and miracle, — tells us throughout of heavenly things. Yet, without ever forgetting the heaven-descended, the son of God, they present to us, on almost every page, a section of our Saviour's domestic life and walk among men, show him to us as a son and a brother, as a neighbor and a friend, as a master and a citizen, among kindred, among strangers, among enemies, in the temple, at the marriage feast, in the house of mourning. In this wide diversity of detail, we see always the same majestic and god-like image, in no circumstances, however narrow or humble,

short of a ray of its glory ; and when the authors confess that, while the divine original was upon the earth, they knew him not, we cannot help believing, that the image was reproduced and sustained before their inward vision by the spirit of God. We cannot help drawing a similar inference from the general character of the epistles. They relate for the most part to local and temporary questions, and disputes, and to a great diversity of these, many of them difficult, mixed, complex cases.

Yet who will venture to maintain, that these writers have in a single instance failed to apply to the solution of these cases the true spirit of Christ, and the strict law of righteousness ? On the other hand, all their discussions are in entire accordance with each other, and with the spirit that breathes through the gospels ; and with the discussion of questions, that have passed away forever, they have connected so many maxims of eternal truth, and so many clear and expanded illustrations of great and everlasting principles, that these epistles must needs go down to the end of time in the connexion, in which they now stand with the gospels, as the best commentary upon them, and as an exhaustless repertory of Christian wisdom.

These considerations are greatly strengthened by one of a negative character. There is in the New Testament nothing, which militates against our faith in the inspiration of its authors, — no brand of falsehood or folly to suggest an opposite theory, — nothing superficial or shallow ; but a profoundness and fullness, which no created mind has exhausted or outgrown. No man, whom men have consented to call wise, has professed himself to have advanced in ethical or religious culture beyond the New Testament ; but the wisest men have found in it enough to stretch and task their highest powers through the whole of life. But what unaided man had written, we might expect man to exhaust or outgrow. Taking our view of inspiration for a stand-point, we could not expect to find the New Testament perfect, or, in any essential respect, other than it is ; — it is just such a collection of books, as this theory would presuppose.

Add to this consideration the wide, the almost inconceivable contrast between the books of the New Testament and the residue of the early Christian writings extant, some of which bear the names of personal friends and followers of the apostles, and, whether genuine or not, must belong to the age next succeeding the apostolic. The most edifying of these contain

much that is puerile and absurd, — much that would settle in the negative, without dispute or division, the question, whether their authors were inspired. The highest degree of veneration, which has ever been paid to the New Testament, cannot separate it from the best other writings of the primitive days of the church by broader marks of distinction, than show themselves on the very face of the respective works. And yet, had the writers of the New Testament been left without any greater degree of divine illumination, than these other writers had, we can hardly believe, that so very decisive marks of difference would have been presented.

Our readers will perceive, that we make the souls of the apostles and evangelists, and not the parchment on which they wrote, the seat of inspiration. We by no means assert, that the books of the New Testament received their outward shape, or even their existence, from a divine monition, urging one to write a gospel, and another an epistle. We suppose that they wrote, as they saw the churches to need, and were guided by their own judgment, as to what and when they should write. But they were men taught of the spirit, guarded against error, and furnished with adequate views of truth and duty, by inspiration from on high; and out of the abundance within they both spake and wrote. There was the same inspiration in their oral instructions. There was the same inspiration in whatever else they may have written, which has not come down to us. There would have been the same inspiration in the writings (had they left us any) of Philip or Bartholomew, of Lebbeus or Simon the Canaanite. The exigencies of the case, the testimony of the apostles convince us that they all (and those immediately associated with them also) were inspired men; and the New Testament has come down to us, as the only surviving records of what was written under the influence of that inspiration.

We come now to consider the inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament. In vindicating their inspiration, we are called upon to defend only the religious character of the Old Testament. Is its general history defective and untrustworthy? We think not; but, if it be, this touches not the question of inspiration. Are its genealogies imperfect and inconsistent with each other? We are rather amazed that they should be so full and coherent; but were they drawn out with the minute accuracy of modern heraldry, we should not claim supernatural

aid for the compilation. Is Solomon's Song a mere epithalamium? If so, we do not believe that Solomon had any divine assistance in writing it. Are there many portions of the Old Testament, where the writers show themselves independent of peculiar divine guidance, and subject to the prejudices and errors of their times? Be it so. We should antecedently expect the penmen of the earlier and less perfect dispensation, to have been endowed with a less intense and pervading inspiration; to have lived less constantly in the perception of spiritual truth; to have had only transient glimpses, where the apostles enjoyed open vision. We should antecedently expect to find more of the merely human element in the earlier Scriptures, which were designed to be but as "a light shining in a dark place, until the day should dawn and the day-star arise." The question of inspiration should be discussed solely with reference to the religious contents of the Old Testament. The question is, whether those things in the Jewish Scriptures, which were beyond man's knowledge or foresight, or far above the light of those times, were discoveries, speculations, happy guesses, or whether they were actually derived from the inspiration of God.

Among the internal marks of the inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament, we would first name the religious unity and harmony, which pervade it. The writers all have the same conception of God, of devotion, of duty. This has not generally been the case among the less cultivated nations. The Jupiter of Homer differs from the Jupiter of the later Greek tragedians. The popular conceptions of every personage in the Pantheon of Greek mythology were gradually developed, and essentially modified by time. On the other hand, the Jehovah of Moses, Isaiah, and Malachi, at intervals of many centuries, during which vast revolutions had been wrought in the national condition and culture, is one and the same Jehovah. The conception reached the highest form, which language could give it, in the writings of Moses, nay, in the very name Jehovah; and in that form it remained fixed, until Jesus softened it with warmer beams of fatherly love. Nor yet can we trace any diversity among these writers, as to the way in which God is to be worshipped, or the duties which he requires.

The frequent loftiness of thought and style in the Old Testament, beyond all other ancient writings, lifting the soul, as it

were, into the very presence chamber of the Deity, sustains the idea, that these majestic passages were written by men, whose spirits had been elevated and expanded by special nearness of converse with the Divine Being. There are portions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, there are some of the Psalms of David, which are, to the devout ear, more like a voice from heaven, than like the words of man.

In fine, the Old Testament stands out in such a prominent contrast to all other equally ancient writings extant, even to the writings of the wisest and best men in the most cultivated ages, that we know not how to account for its sublime theology, its clear and high views of duty, its pervading tone of confidence and authority, except by ascribing to its authors special illumination from the spirit of God. We cast our eyes over the brightest pages of profane literature, and find nowhere a view of the divine nature, on which we can repose; but see the mind distracted among a multitude of clashing deities, bowed down by the spirit of fear and trembling, dreading the thunderbolt without ever trusting the love of the divinity, cringing before gods, possessed of all human, and worse than human passions and infirmities. We then turn to the Bible, and we read; "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." Now all the logic in the world can never convince us, that we are indebted solely to that old barbarous king of a nation unlettered and unrefined, for these sentiments, which anticipate the very spirit of Jesus; which express all, and more than all, that the most pious heart can feel; which will still be the burden of our song, when beyond the reach of earthly infirmity, "the Lamb who is in the midst of the throne shall feed us, and shall lead us unto living fountains of waters." We might make similar remarks with regard to very many passages, which present glimpses of God, of truth, and of duty, which our hearts tell us are the very highest of eternal verities, and which stand entirely alone in the literature of the world before Christ, both as to their depth and fulness of meaning, and tone of majestic and simple confidence, in which they are announced.

The numerous fulfilled prophecies, contained in the Old Testament, offer a more tangible, though hardly a stronger proof of

the inspiration of its writers, than the traits to which we have already referred. We have no room to discuss these prophecies. They cover a large portion of human history. The fulfilment of some of them can be distinctly traced in the past; that of others is now in progress, and known and read of all men. The present condition of the Hebrew nation could hardly be described, in many of its distinctive and unprecedented features, with more accuracy by a modern geographer, than we find it foretold in the Old Testament. Could blind chance have conjured into being phantoms of poetic fancy, that should thus correspond to actual events across the gulf of ages? Could she bring together, and work into the brains of those old seers just the same elements, which after many centuries Providence would embody in the counsels and destinies of nations? This is harder to believe, than that she could paint a flower, or blunder a world into being. The recurrence of the same harmonies at distant intervals, in the sphere-music of time can be accounted for, only by supposing the harmony to have been first struck by the same omnipotent hand that repeats it.

We have also, in favor of the inspiration of the writers of the Old Testament, the testimony of the infallible Jesus and of his inspired apostles. Jesus says, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me;" that is, which foretell me, which have a prophetic character,—a character which could result only from divine inspiration. And again; "Had ye believed Moses, ye would also have believed me; for he wrote concerning me," prophetically of course. In like manner Jesus, epitomizing the whole Old Testament, speaks of what was written concerning him "in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms." He also often quotes these writings as of divine authority and final appeal.

The apostles also continually quote the Old Testament as authoritative. St. Peter says; "The prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the holy spirit." Paul too writes to Timothy; "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, (or, more properly, *pervaded by a divine afflatus*,) and is profitable for doctrine, for proof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

We have completed our argument; and have shown, we trust, that the inspiration of the sacred writers rests on a firmer

basis, than that of anile superstition. We are aware that on this subject it has become fashionable to take low and lax views. To us faith on this point appears the part of sound philosophy. If God stands to us in the paternal relation, in which Jesus presents him, an intrinsic, *a priori* probability attaches itself to any theory, in proportion as it brings him near to his children, and appeals to their implicit confidence. In a world not fatherless, for the short-sighted and frail children of an infinite Father, it is more philosophical to believe, than to disbelieve in miracle and inspiration. The philosophy of the filial heart is higher and of vastly more worth, than that of the doubting head

A. P. P.

ART. V.—*A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, 1838. By CHARLES FELLOWS. London: John Murray, Albemarle St. 1839. 8vo. pp. 347.

It is singular, that with the wealth and literary leisure of England, discoveries remained to be made in a country so near and accessible as Asia Minor, down to so late a period as 1838; — discoveries, we mean, among the ruins of antiquity. Yet Mr. Fellows has made such discoveries, and so incomplete has even his survey been of this country, as well as of travellers who preceded him, that, we suppose, discoveries of the same sort yet remain to be made. So interesting, however, is this region, both from classical and religious associations, abounding in monuments of Greek art, in its best days, and covered with the sites of celebrated cities, so beautiful in its scenery, and withal, so safe to the traveller, in the character of its population, that the wonder is, a single stone remains unturned, a single valley, hill, or ruin, unexplored. One would have thought that to the gentleman-scholar, the literary idler of the three kingdoms, it would have proved a field irresistibly attractive, and would have been long ago exhausted. No project of travel would seem to promise a higher enjoyment, than for a Fellow of one of the Universities, without care or ‘responsibility,’ or a younger son turned adrift with some five or six

hundred a year, or the heir apparent of some rich merchant,—having first studied the humanities more or less at Cambridge or Oxford,—to take the steamboat some bright morning for Constantinople or Smyrna, and twenty days after find himself, with Homer in his hand, on the plains of Troy, puzzling out the foundations of the divine city, or stumbling with open sketch-book among the broken columns and sculptured tombs of Xanthus or Sagalassus. Very sure we are, that there are some on this side the water, who with fewer advantages than we have supposed, save the humanities more or less, without the luxury of horses, camels, or attendants, without rich fathers or livings, and with not more than half six hundred pounds, would esteem it the highest good fortune, to be able just to reach the shores of Asia, and who, once there, would engage not to leave behind them a valley or a hill unexplored, an inscription uncopied, nor a ruin unmeasured or unsketched. When such thoughts occur, one is moved to repine and covet his neighbor's goods, notwithstanding an apostle's hint concerning contentment, and even a Pagan's ;—

Multa petentibus
Multa desunt. Bene est cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ quod satis est manu.

Pæstum, we believe, was *discovered* somewhere about the middle of the last century, though lying almost in sight of the usual route of idle travellers. Mr. Fellows is to be ranked among discoverers in this sense, though he wandered scarce five degrees of latitude from Constantinople, and was not many days out of sight of the Mediterranean ; but that he had made discoveries, he himself seems to have been ignorant, until he returned to London and submitted his labors to the Savans there. He had very naturally concluded, that a country, the very home of the Greek, the most classical of all classical lands, next to Attica itself, about which geographers, and critics, and poets had been writing, dogmatizing, or guessing for centuries, was as familiar to them in its minutest features as Yorkshire, or the Campagna. His surprise must have been great, and pleasant as great, to learn that, all undreamed of by himself, he had actually done great things, and placed himself in the ranks of those, who have made additions to the sum of human knowledge. The success of his first adventure led him to undertake another tour in 1840, from which

he also returned laden with rich spoils for both the philologist, and the virtuoso.

Wasting a few more words in preliminary observations, we will then give some account of the travels of Mr. Fellows in 1838. Of the Author we know nothing, from independent sources, and but little is to be gleaned from his volumes. He evidently possesses many of the best requisites for a traveller, being good-natured, unexact, capable of endurance, and with a freedom from prejudice, rare in one of his nation. The only charge to be brought against him in this relation, we believe, is, that he continued to support nature, in that manner so truly English, upon tea and dry toast, and refused to smoke, though he was solicited by Turkish coffee and amber-headed pipes every day, and at every turn. What was the original motive, that took him so far from the precincts of London, does not appear in his preface. He never alludes to business, nor to any necessity requiring him to either shorten, or prolong his stay at one place or another; and yet he repeatedly hurries away from some of the most interesting spots, after a mere glance at them, and having put on record only the most loose and unsatisfactory descriptions. If not a business man, but on the contrary a gentleman of leisure and of wealth, as we suppose to be the case, such hasty abandonment of remarkable places betrays a strange want of enthusiasm in the best objects of his journey. But what were the best objects of his journey, we believe, he himself did not know at first; but they were gradually and accidentally revealed. On his second visit, in 1840, he passed over a much less extent of country; and where he professed to bestow his attention, as in Lycia, seems to have performed his work with great thoroughness.

In presenting numerous extracts from the tour of 1838, we shall confine ourselves chiefly to passages, which describe the remains of ancient magnificence, or which illustrate the character and manners of the present inhabitants, Greek and Mahomedan, of this celebrated region. Mr. Fellows arrived at Smyrna in February. This city, renowned as the birthplace of Homer, and in Christian history distinguished as the seat of one of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse, and of a bishopric, we moderns associate only with cargoes of raisins and figs. And in its present state, according to Mr. Fellows, to say that it exports figs and raisins, is to say nearly all it deserves. He describes it as a thickly inhabited town, with

streets narrow and dirty. Subject to grievous oppression it must be, as the Governor of the town " farms it of the Sultan, paying a certain sum every year, and makes what he can of the taxes, fees, and fines. Immense fortunes are thus made in a short time ; frequently in the most tyrannical way ; but the Governor's power only extends over Asiatics. Life and death are in his hands ; but money will always satisfy him, and he alone has to be satisfied."

A most unfavorable impression is conveyed of the worship of the Greek Church. " I have witnessed," says Mr. Fellows, " a splendid funeral of a wealthy Greek, in which all the church power was engaged, including the highest authority, an archbishop, I believe. In the Greek church the dresses are more splendid than in the Romish, but the whole effect is quite in contrast. In the church there is not the slightest semblance of devotional feeling ; less even than in the synagogue worship. The priests are ordinary looking men of the world ; they sing the service in merry time, in a common but rather nasal tone, and look about them as if they were in the crowded streets, instead of a place of worship. They are honest looking men ; but have nothing of the priest about them ; a long black beard seemed to be a distinctive part of their costume. There is a great deal of bowing and kissing of hands ; but all the recitations seem addressed to one another ; and I did not see an uplifted eye, or an attitude of adoration. There is no altar, and, therefore, no fixed point of prayer. A candle, which is merely a waxed piece of cotton, is given to every person on entering, and they all keep their hats on during the ceremony. Celibacy is not enjoined upon the priesthood by the Greek church ; and from their appearance I should say, that they are more in their element in the noise and bustle of trade, and of their families, than in the offices of the church. A more different race from the priest of Rome cannot well be imagined."

While complaints are so freely uttered of a want of the appearances of reverence in our own churches, especially during the devotional services, it may be well to guard against expecting and requiring too much. Mr. Fellows has given a picture of the service in the Greek church. It is well known how little there is of apparent reverence in the synagogue. The worship of the Romish church is at times imposing ; but, to the stranger, it often presents anything else, rather than the calm and quiet scene, that seems best to become the wor-

ship of God. The English worship is well ordered and decent; but not in that church, nor in any other, have we witnessed more of the reverent silence, the fixed attention, the serious countenance, that mark the engaged worshipper, than in the churches of the Puritans. Where the forms are few, and the service simple and brief, there seems to be less of mere human contrivance coming in between the soul and its Maker.

Although the general aspect of Smyrna is that of a modern city, no lofty ruins existing to bear testimony to its ancient splendor, yet the observant eye of Mr. Fellows, in many parts of the city, detected fragments of its former rich architecture built into modern walls, such as cornices, bas-reliefs, busts, and parts of columns. Vast numbers of tombstones in the Jews' burial ground, he found to be made of ancient marbles. He saw in one place the soil of a side hill propped up with Corinthian capitals; and in another, the top of an arch with the capitals of its column only visible above ground, and twenty or thirty feet of loose earth around it. In such spots there must lie hidden treasures of ancient art; and doubtless no richer mine could be worked, so far as mere *profit* is concerned, than such accumulations of rubbish about the fallen temples and palaces of antiquity. Probably but a very small part of the buried glories of Greek and Roman art has yet been brought to light.

After passing a few days in Smyrna, Mr. Fellows turned his face towards Constantinople; from that place his further route lay south, through Bithynia, a part of Phrygia and Pamphylia, to Lycia, on the Mediterranean; when, skirting the shore of that sea, he came round again to the place whence he started. This occupied him, in all, about three months. Leaving Smyrna, as we have said, the first place Mr. Fellows reached, of any general interest, was Thyatira, the city of one of the seven churches, now called Acsá. On the way he had observed the fig, vine, and olive, the plane, wild pea, pine, and dwarf oak, the juniper, myrtle, and oleander, in cultivated grounds, or on the road-side. His approach to a city of former grandeur was marked by ruins, like the *debris* of crumbling hills. "At the solitary stable, or rest-house, half way to Acsá, I found," he says, "the well-coping formed of the capital of a column of white marble, veined with red. A burial ground adjoining was filled with tryglyphs and columns of similar stone." Along the edge of the road, he frequently saw marble cornices and beautifully cut stones, and in the walls and burial ground at the en-

trance of the town, there were numerous pieces of columns, many of granite, stuck in the ground as Turkish grave-stones. At the close of the second day he reached Thyatira. The town, in and around it, is strewn with the relics of its former greatness. He saw ten or a dozen well-tops, or troughs, made of the capitals of columns of different kinds. The size and grandeur of the ancient city are indicated by the circumstance, that Mr. Fellows counted an hundred and thirty parts of broken columns; and, upon measuring them and noticing their orders, found that they must have contributed to as many as seven, or eight, distinct temples. The streets were paved with fragments of wrought stone. For two miles out of town he observed the mouths, or curbs, of wells to be formed out of the capitals of extremely fine Corinthian pillars, the bucket being drawn through holes cut in the centre. There can be little doubt that, below the surface of the modern village, the most valuable marbles would be discovered, could leave for exploring the rich soil be obtained.

The next place of importance was Pergamus, about seventy miles nearly south-west from Acsá. At Soma, a small village about half way there, Mr. Fellows copied from a tomb, a Greek inscription, of which he gives the following translation. It is the most beautiful of all that he has recorded.

“Onesimus, the father, and Chryseis the mother, made [this tomb] for their sweetest child, Polychronius, for the sake of remembrance, and for themselves.”

The greater part of the inscriptions, which he has copied and brought away, are from tombs; and possess very little general interest or historical value. A great similarity runs through them. The names of the parties building and owning the tomb are given, with titles, honors, &c., which is generally followed, not always, with imprecations of the vengeance of the gods upon any who shall disturb it, or bury in it, through all time, any but the bodies of certain persons specified. The second volume of Mr. Fellows contains a very large number of these. Not far on his way from the place, where he found the one we have just given, he discovered another cut into some marbles, which had been built into a fountain by the road-side. As this is curious, from its relation to some of the customs of the ancients, showing their extreme scrupulousness in some matters of form, we copy it entire.

" May it be fortunate.

" In the treasuryship of Demetrius, in the second day of the month Thargelion, Alexon, son of Damon, declared it to be a law for relations by *marriage*, (?) that the female mourners should wear clean grey cloth; that the men and boys engaged in the mourning should also wear grey, unless they prefer white; that they should perform the rites appointed by law for the departed, at the latest, in three months; that the men should terminate their mourning in the fourth month, and the women in the fifth; that the women, or the trains appointed in the law as a matter of necessity, should then rise from the lamentation and go forth; that the Gynæconomus, chosen by the people, should, at the purification preceding the Thesmophoria, pray for prosperity and the enjoyment of their existing possessions, on behalf of those men who abide by, and those women who obey this law, and imprecate the contrary upon those men and women who do not obey; and that the treasurer chosen after Demetrius, wearing a crown, should inscribe this law upon two pillars, and place one of them before the gates of the Temple of (Ceres) Thesmophoros, and the other before the temple of Artemis (Diana) Lochia. And let the treasurer carry the sum expended to the pillars (or columns) in the first chamber of Accounts." — p. 31.

Mr. Fellows gives us a glimpse of the interior accommodations of the Khans, which, we believe, the reader would like to share. At Manser he had been entertained at a Khan of more than ordinary magnificence, but excepting the size and more costly architecture of the building, it resembled the common inn. Writing at Manser, he says; —

" I am now in a very fine building, the public Khan. It is as extensive as an Italian palace, and built entirely of stone and iron; each room is dome-topped, with iron gratings and shutters to the windows, and an iron door, which was unlocked by a black slave, with immense keys; the heavy door opened, and I walked in, as if into a prison, but found it so clean, that though it offered little more than bare walls, I liked its appearance better than that of any house I had seen for months. Mats were spread on the floor, and unfolding my stores, all other comforts, together with an excellent dinner, were quickly supplied. For the first time I am lying on my travelling mattress, and surrounded with pens, ink, and paper, with my canteen for a table; but I shall have other Khans to describe, different probably from this, and the present may give but little idea of the accommodations in travelling in this country. Man-

ser is a very extensive place, but the houses are wholly built of mud, and the streets here, as in all the towns I have yet seen, are covered over from house to house with canvass, mats, or vines on trellis, shading the streets from the sun ; and thus the shops only are visible to the traveller, who can gain but an imperfect view of the town."

Soon after, at Pergamus, he writes more particularly.

"I am again in a Khan, and must say that I never liked an inn half so much. It is pleasant to see all the furniture around me my own, and to feel that my room is my castle. Here the traveller finds only bare walls, with a few nails arranged for hanging things upon. When I return from the stroll I generally take, to stretch my legs after a day's ride, I find carpet, bedding, and writing apparatus arranged for me, and a meal prepared in a room that appears well furnished ; and I have no fear of leaving anything behind, for I take everything in the room away with me. In the morning, on awaking, I find my toilet around me, and the kettle boiling for breakfast. I had previously laid in a store of tea at Corfu, an article that is unknown here. Give me a good servant and a Khan, and I will not wish for the bows of a landlord, or the troublesome attentions of a waiter. But perhaps the novelty of the scene may influence me.

"In the Khan, by eight o'clock, all is asleep, and mine the only light burning. In the immediate vicinity of a Khan is always to be seen a mosque, from whose picturesque minaret the Adan, or call to prayer, is repeated every five hours ; first addressed towards Mecca, and afterwards to each of the cardinal points. The tone is very harmonious, and the words are dwelt upon with a prolonged sound, making, in the stillness of the night, a chant which is solemn and striking ; its meaning is simple and beautiful ; 'God is most great ! I testify that Mahomet is God's apostle ! come to prayer ; come to security ! God is most great ; there is no Deity but God !' and the voice may be heard at a great distance, the elevation being considerable, and the tone clear and distinct." — p. 33.

In villages where there is not sufficient passing of strangers to require the establishment of a Khan, there is prepared by this hospitable people what they term the Stranger's house, which, on the arrival of a traveller, is thrown open to his use, and his table supplied with articles of food by the voluntary contributions of the neighbors, consisting generally of soups, rice, olives, bread, sweetmeats, and various preparations of milk,

not forgetting the universal *pelaf*, as Mr. Fellows spells the word, — spelt more usually, *pilau* or *pilaff*. He describes a house of this sort provided for him at *Beahrahm*.

“On the outside it looks very much like a square box, and the inside measured from twelve to fourteen feet; it was built of stones of all shapes put together with mud. The roof was flat and covered with earth; a small roller, generally a piece of a column, lying on the top to make this compact, in order to keep out the wet. There was no window, and consequently light was admitted only by the door, which had no lock or fastening, except a piece of wood suspended over the top withinside, and falling down when the door is shut, whilst on the outside hung a peg, with which this inside fastening might be pushed up on entering. The walls and floors were of mud, mixed with short pieces of straw; the roof was a tree laid across, and boards placed transversely: the interior was black with smoke from a large open fireplace, and on entering the house appeared dark.

“When the traveller arrives, the owner of the house, or servant appointed by the authorities, sweeps out the room, and puts down a mat, the only article of furniture provided. My servant presses into the wall four nails, on which to hang his gun, whip, our caps, and my hood; and then places the hammock and mattress upon the carpet. Any one, who were to see the traveller’s room thus occupied, would acknowledge it to be extremely enjoyable. Hitherto I have retained my English habits, am never required to smoke, and have tasted Turkish coffee but once since I entered Asia. That specimen was not at all to my liking, which will be readily believed, when I describe the process of making it. Each cup is made separately, the little saucepan or ladle in which it is prepared being about an inch wide and two deep; this is more than half filled with coffee, finely powdered with a pestle and mortar, and then filled up with water; after being placed for a few seconds on the fire, the contents are poured, or rather shaken out, (being much thicker than chocolate), without the addition of cream or sugar, into a china cup, of the size and shape of half an egg-shell, which is enclosed in one of ornamented metal of the same form, for convenience of holding in the hand.” — p. 54.

Leaving Pergamus, and passing through Adramyttium and Assos, — both named in St. Paul’s different journeys, — Mr. Fellows reached the site of ancient Troy, concerning which he does not discourse in a very luminous manner, and does nothing toward settling the disputes, as to the precise spot where

the ancient city stood. Yet from one fact which he mentions, it would seem as if patient investigation, and a few excavations here and there, might accomplish, even yet, what has heretofore been attempted in vain. "I had fancied," he says, "that the difficulty of tracing the foundations of Troy had been from the scarcity of remains; but I judge from this place, that it may have been from the confused number that meet the eye on every side." The country, for miles around, he describes as *unfit for agriculture, from the multitude of broken stones, marbles, and arches*, that lie on and beneath the surface, in every direction. The ancient port he found marked by hundreds of columns, on a somewhat small scale, scattered round on all sides, shooting up out of the water, or lying fallen on the shore. The most striking ruins were about a mile from the sea, on an exceedingly grand scale, consisting of the arches of a vast building, which must either have formed or contained a square. Within it the ground was strewn with carvings, mouldings, and pedestals in marble, some of which were covered with inscriptions. Near the foundations of the large building were the remains of another, consisting of a rectangular platform of immense stones, supported by strong arches; upon the raised site a splendid view was gained over the city and the sea beyond, and here had evidently stood a Temple. Other interesting remains of temples and tombs and baths lay around. At some distance from this spot, riding on an ancient paved road toward some hot springs in the neighborhood, an immense granite column of a single stone was discovered lying by the roadside, having evidently been dropped there on the way to the place of its destination. This is said by Dr. Clarke, the traveller, to be the largest granite column in the world, except the famous column at Alexandria, in Egypt. Mr. Fellows says; —

"I took its dimensions, which were as follows;—thirty-seven feet six inches in length; the diameter of the top, four feet six inches, with a cornice fifteen inches in depth; diameter of the base, five feet six inches, with a moulding twelve inches broad. It was in excellent preservation; but I sought in vain for its pedestal, and wondered that its fall should not have broken it. In two hours we reached Gaicle, and thence walked to a gorge near one of the peaks of the granite range of hills, about a mile off, to see the Seven Columns, and there found in the quarry, with all the chips about them, and their parent rock within a

few feet distance, seven finished columns, in form and measurement precisely like the one which I had seen on the way, and also like the column I had noticed on the beach of Troy, thus making nine in all, that were no doubt to be used in or shipped from the city, which was visible from the quarry, and distant in a straight line, not above five or six miles. This at once explained the fact, that there was neither pedestal for, nor fracture in the one by the way side; and no other remains in the city similar to the column lying in the port. A long groove was cut on the solid face of the rock in the quarry, marking out the first stage toward hewing out another similar column."—p. 62.

In the quarries in the neighborhood of Balbec, in Syria, columns of nearly double this size are found partly finished; they are, however, of marble. These granite columns found at Troas do not much exceed, we suppose, if any, those recently hewn for some of our own public buildings.

After passing some days among the interesting relics of this neighborhood, but by his investigations settling none of the points in dispute concerning the true site of the old city, Mr. Fellows departed for Channakalassy; on the shore of the Dardanelles, where he was to take passage for Constantinople. A French steamboat from Smyrna took him there on March 7th, in forty-eight hours, the usual time being twelve or fifteen. We pass over his residence of about ten days in this great Eastern Capital, as being more familiar ground, and rejoin him on leaving the city for his southern journey. He left Constantinople on the 17th of March, and on the 19th reached the ruins of Nice in Bythynia, the seat of the world-renowned council. At the southern end of the lake Ascania, with the snow-capped range of Olympus in view, he beheld the ruined towers of Nicæa. Of this once so famous place little now remains, to bear testimony to its former magnificence. The walls are still standing, extending the space of a mile on each side. Within the walls he found the Turkish village of Isnik. Mr. Fellows dignifies these collective remains by speaking of them as the "ruin of ruins," but gives no description of them at all bearing out the application of so imposing a title. He copied several inscriptions of interest and value. Taking his departure soon, and passing through several places of little note, he crossed the boundaries of Bythynia, and entered Phrygia, pausing at Kootaya, the ancient Cotyæum, that he might diverge from the

direct road, and visit the ruins of *Æzani*. These appear to be very remarkable. We copy his account of them.

"I had heard," he says, "of the recent discovery of *Æzani*, and having been told that it was a small Roman town of the time of Adrian, I felt comparatively little interest about it. But I now find from its architecture, that it appears to be a purely Greek city; though perhaps afterwards possessed by the Romans, as there are a few Latin inscriptions. The architecture is entirely Greek, except the tombs,—many of which appear to be of a more recent period than the public buildings. The situation of the town is not so striking as the Greeks generally choose, but it has its gentle hills, one of which was its Acropolis, crowned with a very highly finished Ionic Temple. Eighteen columns with one side and end of the cella are yet standing. In the interior of the latter are four long inscriptions, one in well formed Greek characters, and apparently as old as the temple. Of this I took a copy.

"There is another inscription in inferior Greek characters, and there are two in badly cut Roman; on the outside of the cella are three or four more; but my time having been spent in taking sketches, and in visiting other ruins, I could copy only one of these. Moreover the weather was so cold, (March 26th,) and the snow falling so fast, that I had difficulty in putting anything on paper. At the foot of the Acropolis, which is for the most part artificially raised upon five substantial arches of massive stone, similar to the vaults of *Nicæa*, stand several pillars of another temple; and between these and the river is a single column, now occupied by the nest of a stork; four similar ones having been just removed, and used in the erection of the Governor's house at *Kootaya*. On a hill to the north are the colossal foundations of another temple, which, from the many splendid fragments of Corinthian columns and friezes scattered around, I have no doubt was of that order. Still further to the north-east stands another hill covered with tombs, and hollowed out of the side of it is a beautiful theatre; the seats still remain, and such a mass of the materials, that the whole might probably be put together again. A splendid frieze of lions, in every attitude, with trees in the back ground, but in a bold basso-relievo, appears to have surrounded the building. There are still standing three bridges across the river, which meandered through the city, its banks having been lined with finely ornamented masonry. The objects of the ornaments in the architecture of the city, which are abundant, are taken from sports and games. Panthers, lions, dogs, eagles, and Bacchanalian figures are carved in the friezes."—p. 141.

A half page more, and a few inscriptions which he copied, would give all that the author recorded of this remarkable place. We have already said that we know not the motive, which drew him to the East. It seems in part to have been a love of antiquity, and the wish to examine and copy its remains, but only in part, else it is difficult to see why, having just arrived at a place like this, crowded with the various and beautiful relics of past ages, he should just cast round a hasty glance, make a few drawings, copy a few inscriptions, and abandon it, when, from the phrases he has used in speaking of its extent and interest, we should suppose weeks or months might be agreeably and profitably passed, in making a complete survey and an exact catalogue of its wonders.—Two beautiful lithographic prints are given of the ruins of ancient temples here.

One of the best domestic scenes he witnessed was at Kootaya, in the house of an Armenian merchant, to which he was sent by the Pasha of the place, on Mr. Fellows presenting the firman of the Sultan,—sent, apparently without any leave being asked of the merchant's family, or notice given. It is a curious and pretty picture of private life.

“At Kootaya I have been residing in the house of a private gentleman, and have witnessed the manners of his family. On my firman being presented to the Pasha, he sent me to this house, the residence of the principal merchant, an Armenian. He was from home at the time, but I was put in possession of the place of honor, or raised floor in the principal room, which was painted like the coat of a harlequin, and surrounded with cushions; the floor being entirely covered with Turkey carpets and Persian rugs, which gave the rooms the appearance of both comfort and wealth. This house may be considered as a specimen of the house of a Turk, equally as of a Greek, both being of the same construction. The family were numerous; three of the children of my host immediately surrounded me, one of them, a little girl about six years old, very pretty, and evidently the pet of the family; two sons afterwards appeared, who were men thirty years of age. The little girl told me many things, which, as she did not understand English any more than I did Turkish, it was in vain for me to attempt answering, otherwise than by signs; wherefore she very gravely left me, and going up to the servant inquired if Franky had a tongue, for he never spoke to her, though she had told him everything. Refreshments were brought in, and shortly after arrived the master of the house, a fine handsome man, who saluted me with great respect, and re-

gretted that I had dined before he came home, but arranged that I should take my meal with him the next day. In the evening he had many visitors, and sent for a Neapolitan quack doctor in compliment to me, saying that he spoke European languages. The doctor and the other guests sat till twelve o'clock; how often did I wish them away that I might go to bed! I did not know a word that was said, but had to receive the compliments and farewells of each guest, the purpose of whose visit was evidently to see the European. My servant, who at his request is in my firman called my dragoman, made himself very entertaining, and was in consequence a welcome guest; for the people are delighted to be talked to, and have not the slightest idea of the luxury of being alone. They are extremely sociable, and never read or write, which renders them very dependent on each other for amusement. I longed to be alone, even in the den-like rooms of a Khan, that I might write, draw, and go to bed; but this was impossible whilst every eye was watching, although with the most refined politeness, my slightest movement. If I was by chance left alone for five minutes, an apology was made, or the children sent in, that I might not feel lonely. At breakfast, two of the sons watched every mouthful, until I could literally hardly swallow my food; and all this attention proceeded from politeness. I dislike this system of being lodged with a private family under the authority of a firman, and, having once availed myself of it, shall return to the former custom of occupying empty houses or Khans, rather than be a forced and unwelcome guest of a stranger as I am here.

"During my toilet I saw that the sons were watching every act, and anticipated every wish except their absence. I quite dreaded the *tete-a-tete* dinner with the head of the house, neither of us understanding a word of the other's language. When the time arrived, the father entered with his pet child, who was sent to kiss my hand, or put it to her lips and forehead; the father, respectfully saluting me, took his seat on the opposite side of the tray, which was placed on a little stool about six inches high. We each had a plate, knife, fork, and spoon, the three former being seldom, and the other with great difficulty, used by my *vis-a-vis*. When the soup, which stood in the middle, was uncovered, my host having arranged a napkin over his breast, and pulled up his sleeve, set the example of dipping into the tureen, and then I did the same, wishing that it was nearer to me. After each dish he saluted me by passing his hand to his breast, mouth, and forehead; — indicating the devotion of heart, lips, and head to my service; the eldest son, who waited most humbly upon us, watched my movements as closely as a

dog expecting its share of every mouthful. A dish of brain-fritters succeeded; chickens, (birds which we had shot,) pelaf, and sweets followed. When our formal meal was over, the son brought a basin, having a false bottom like an inverted colander, at the top of which lay a piece of soap; also a water-ewer and towel handsomely embroidered with gold. The basin was first presented to me, and the son continued to pour water through my hands; the host made a longer ceremony of it. In the operation of washing is seen a strong instance of the delicacy of this nation; so great is their horror of anything unclean, that, by the contrivance above referred to, they avoid even the sight of the soiled water, into which, among other nations, the hands are repeatedly dipped. In the fonts at the mosques the water always trickles through the hands from the top of a cistern, thus avoiding the inconvenience of the former mode, which requires the assistance of a servant in washing the hands. After we had completed our meal, two of the sons, the child, and my servant ate theirs at the lower part of the room, attended by numerous servants. The sons alone are privileged to wait upon their father, filling his pipe, presenting his coffee, and sitting looking at him for hours together; and they never all leave the room while he remains. A servant seldom or never returns to the apartment, unless to attend to the fire.

"The cooking is excellent, and nothing objectionable is to be met with in it; no garlic of Italy, nor greens of Germany, nor unknown compounds of France. The Kymack is excellent here, and is fully an inch thick; I see it sold in the bazaars in plates, as our cream cheeses are, scantily scattered over with carraway seeds. The bread is all good, but the common bread is peculiar in appearance, being as thin and soft as a Derbyshire oat-cake; meat, eggs, etc. are brought to table wrapped up in it, in the manner in which fish is folded in a napkin; its taste is the same as that of other bread, being made of pure wheaten flour. I observe that many persons here form their bread into a kind of cone, which serves as a spoon or fork in eating their almost liquid food, thus keeping their fingers clean." — p. 150.

Many of the customs of these people are odd enough; the only one really annoying, and in strange contrast with their delicacy in other respects, is their fashion of watching and gazing at another, a stranger especially, while he is eating, and even while he is washing and dressing. A little further on Mr. Fellows says; —

"I am at this moment sitting at dinner, stared at by fourteen

Turks, all complimentary visitors, who have watched every mouthful I have taken, and are now secretly looking and talking of me."

We cannot wonder that he was obliged to take measures to relieve himself of such intrusion.

"I was so much annoyed," he continues, "at Aluntash the night before last, by the custom of the country, and by the repetition of it by the people again appearing the next morning early with cream and honey, as an excuse for remaining to see me dress, that I determined to put a stop to it, at the risk of offending them, rather than have a number of men waiting to see me turn out of my bed; and I gave directions to my servant accordingly. On inquiring afterward how he had kept them out, I found that he had represented me as unwell, and not able to bear the talking; and thus both I and my servant were left to pursue our occupations undisturbed. These people are so sociable, that no one is ever alone; and I believe I must occasionally represent myself as an invalid, in order to get time for writing and the other occupations of a traveller." — p. 158.

We return again from manners to antiquities. Leaving *Æzani* and its monuments, Mr. Fellows resumed his journey towards *Lycia* and the *Mediterranean*. First retracing his steps to *Cotyæium*, he then passed over an extensive plain,—high table land,—with no objects of general interest, making fifty miles to *Aluntash*. Eighty miles more of dreary barren waste brought him to *Lake Ascania* in *Pisidia*, where he once more enjoyed some beautiful scenery, the season, however, (the last of March,) still wintry, with cold east winds and sharp frosts. He has now drawn near to one of the most remarkable spots, which he visited during his whole journey, if we may judge from his own language; yet, which he passed rapidly by, pausing merely to obtain a single bird's-eye view. We will give his approach and visit in his own words. Being on his way from *Boodroom* to *Alaysoon*, he hears accidentally of some ruins about three miles distant, and though the weather was cold and stormy, sets off to see them.

"I risked the repetition of the storm, and walked about three miles up the mountain, through a craggy wilderness, into which I feared the peasant took me only to see some tombs cut in the rocks, as the situation appeared too high and dreary for the living of any age. Tombs we did pass, and then climbed up

steep hills, which were covered with broken tiles, crockery of terra cotta, lamps, jugs, pieces of glass, etc., but none of sufficient value to be worth picking up. At length I saw many squared stones, which had been rolled down the hills, and above me on all the overhanging rocks were the foundations of walls.

"What was my surprise to find, on ascending, the extensive remains of a superb city, containing seven or eight temples, and three other long buildings, ornamented with cornices and columns, and with rows of pedestals on either side! I know not what these buildings may have been, but from their forming long avenues I imagined they were agoras.

"On the side of a higher hill is one of the most beautiful and perfect theatres I ever saw or heard of; the seats and the greater part of the proscenium remain; the walls of the front have partly fallen, but the splendid cornices and statuary are but little broken. I walked almost round in the arched lobby, entering as the people did above two thousand years ago. Eight or nine venerable walnut trees have done some damage, by heaving up the seats. From its peculiar situation I judge that this theatre was entered only on one side, where appeared three or four vomitories together. The whole of the city, with its costly tombs and its inscriptions, both cut in the rocks and on the sarcophagi, is ancient Greek, without a vestige of Roman or Christian character. The helmet, shield, and lance, together with masks and lions' heads, varied the ornaments of a richly worked Corinthian cornice. I observed in the agora many of the pedestals were six-sided. The whole town was a pile of superb public buildings, arranged in excellent taste, both for seeing and being seen; the ruins are, for so elevated a spot, extensive, and in their mountainous situation are wildly grand. The theatre faced the south. The town has no trace of walls; but its tombs are to be seen carved in the rocks for miles around, with much architectural ornament. This must, I suppose, be the situation of the ancient Sagalassus; it is now called by the Turks Boodroom." — p. 166.

This is all, absolutely all, save a half-page more, that Mr. Fellows tells us of a place like this. It makes one more curious than ever, to know the object of his journey. A mere butterfly of fashion would have felt the spell of such a scene, we should say, and have done it the homage of a day's leisurely inspection. A city, too, purely Greek, no Roman or Christian infusion of a more barbarous taste, — it, seems to have offered every conceivable attraction to the scholar, the lover of art, even to the mere idle seeker after the picturesque and the beautiful. Mr. Fellows, often as he gratifies, sometimes disappoints us.

Only twenty-four miles from Sagalassus, another pile of ruins is discovered more wonderful, if anything, than the first; which the traveller looks at, wonders at, and then leaves with a brief description and a few exclamations. Let us accompany him also on this excursion.

"We arrived at the village of Boojak. Leaving here my baggage, I started with a guide to visit some extensive ruins, which I heard lay about ten miles towards the north-east. The road was highly picturesque, traversing pine forests; and ascending the whole way, commanded views of various chains of mountains and their cultivated valleys. After passing a rocky plain, we entered a wood or wilderness of shrubs, and suddenly came to a cliff of the greatest perpendicular height, that I had ever looked over; no description can give an idea of the place. It was at the end of a ridge of mountains of white marble, which terminate abruptly in a deep and rich valley, with villages, of which Davre appeared the largest, and having only one side accessible, the other three rising perpendicularly, perhaps a thousand feet.

"Upon this promontory stood one of the finest cities, that probably ever existed, now presenting magnificent wrecks of grandeur. I rode for at least three miles through a part of the city, which was one pile of temples, theatres, and buildings, vying with each other in splendor; the elevated site for such a city is quite unaccountable to me. The material of these ruins, like those near Alaysoon, had suffered much from exposure to the elements, being grey with a lichen which has eaten into the marble, and entirely destroyed the face and inscriptions; but the scale, the simple grandeur, and the uniform beauty of style bespoke its date to be early Greek. The sculptured cornices frequently contain groups of figures, fighting, wearing helmets and body-armor, with shields and long spears; from the ill-proportioned figures and general appearance, they must rank in date with the Ægina marbles now at Munich. The ruins are so thickly strewn, that little cultivation is practicable; but in the areas of theatres, cellas of temples, and any place where a plough can be used, the wheat is springing up. The general style of the temples is Corinthian, but not so florid as in less ancient towns. The tombs are scattered for a mile from the town, and are of many kinds; some cut in chambers in the face of the rock, others sarcophagi of the heaviest form; they have had inscriptions, and the ornaments are almost all martial; several seats remain among the tombs. I can scarcely guess the number of temples or columned buildings in the town, but I certainly traced fifty or sixty; and in places

where there were no remains above the surface, I frequently saw vast arched vaults, similar to those forming the foundations of great public buildings. Although apparently unnecessary for defence, the town has had strong walls, partly built with large stones in the Cyclopean mode. There is no trace of any successors to the earliest occupants. I never conceived so high an idea of the works of the ancients, as from my visit to this place, standing, as it were, in a situation above the world." — p. 171.

This, too, is all we have from our author on this most remarkable place. No drawing is given of any of the objects he beheld there. His conjecture is, that these ruins are the remains of Selge, once the chief city of Pisidia, — founded, the tradition goes, by natives of, and emigrants from Sparta. Danville speaks of it 'as the greatest city of Pisidia,' 'the site of which is now unknown.' There can be little doubt that Mr. Fellows is right, in supposing the ruins he discovered to be those of this celebrated capital, agreeing as they do in position with the place assigned for them by geographers. And from the substantial style of the ancient architecture, notwithstanding the gradual assaults of time, as well as the more violent ones of storm and earthquake; we can doubt as little, that were an enterprising traveller to explore thoroughly the country, all the cities named in ancient history could be identified in their remains. Having no access to such books as those of Leake and Cramer, we cannot say how far this work has been already completed; we can only infer from some expressions of Mr. Fellows, and the sensation his narrative created in London, that something yet remains to be done.

After this brief glimpse of the glories of ancient Selge, Mr. Fellows retraces his steps to the village of Boojak, and sets off for Adalia, or, as the Turks pronounce and spell the word, Atalia, on the shores of the Mediterranean. The road lay through steep mountain passes, and a country rich with all the elements of picturesque scenery. Part of the way, — among the rocky defiles of the hills, — he passed over an ancient paved road, where the marks of the wheels of those, who used them two thousand years ago, were yet visible. From the brow of a hill he enjoys a delightful prospect.

"About half an hour before I reached the plain at the foot of this mountain, a view burst upon me through the cliffs, so far exceeding the usual beauty of nature, as to seem the work of magic. I looked down from the rocky steps of the throne of

winter upon the rich and verdant plain of summer, with the blue sea in the distance, and on either side, like outstretched arms, ranges of mountains bounding the bay of Pamphylia. This splendid view passed like a dream; for the continual turns in the road, and the increasing richness of the woods and vegetation, soon limited my view to a mere foreground. Nor was this without its interest; on each projecting rock stood an ancient sarcophagus, and the trees half concealed the lids and broken sculpture of innumerable tombs. A colossal recumbent lion without a head, probably having formed the top of some monument, and seats supported by the claws of lions, were amongst the ruins; in one or two places were small remains of Cyclopean walls, perhaps only foundations to perfect the natural rocks so as to support the tombs above. Several columns of the Corinthian order were scattered about; but even from these I was unable to ascertain the exact site of the city, which could not, however, have been far from this spot. I should have searched farther, had I not anticipated finding the town in the ruins below me, to which I was directed by my guide; but on my arrival, I found that these were of little interest, being slightly built Venetian castles." — p. 175.

"Innumerable tombs," and "columns of the Corinthian order lying about," it was very natural to conclude indicated a city, and of no ordinary size and splendor; but our traveller passes along, as if ruined cities grew on every bush, and by going a little further he should find another directly in his path, without the trouble of looking it up.

Mr. Fellows is pleased with Adalia, and describes some new traits in Turkish manners, in an interview with the governor.

"I prefer (Adalia) to any Turkish town I have yet visited. Every house has its garden, and consequently the town has the appearance of a wood, — and of what? Orange, lemon, fig, and mulberry, all cultivated with the artificial care of a town garden, and now in fresh spring beauty, (April 3d.) I see in the Bazaar small green almonds; and among the fruit-trees barley is coming into ear; this was the case two months ago at Syra, which shows how greatly climate is influenced by local causes.

"My visit was to the governor. An European chair was placed for me; I was welcomed with pipe and coffee; the first I ventured to refuse; the latter, fearing to give offence, I reluctantly tasted. The servant on approaching to take the coffee cup from me, when at arm's length, placed over it a beautifully embroidered napkin, about six inches square, worked with vari-

ous colors mixed with gold ; this was done to avoid the sight of any dregs that might be left in the cup, — one of the many customs I have noticed amongst this people, indicating excessive delicacy of manners." — p. 179.

In countries boasting of much higher civilization, it is not *always* that these same unsightly dregs are removed, (by a thorough ablution,) before the cup is a second time replenished. In manners, and in morals not less, some lessons may be learned with advantage from even Turks. He was quartered by the governor upon a rich Greek, in whose family he was surrounded by every Eastern luxury, treated with the utmost kindness, and entertained with the most liberal hospitality. From this place he made a little excursion further east, visiting several sites of ruins, Perge, Isionda, Pednelissus, and Side. Returning to Adalia, he took leave of his Greek friends ; and getting on board of a coasting vessel of the country, made sail across the gulph of Adalia to Phaselis ; but after touching there and at a few other points, found this mode of travelling too uncertain and annoying, and at a place called Kakava (in Lydia) finally landed, dismissed his boatmen, procured horses of the peasantry, and immediately struck into the interior. At Antiphellus, the first place of interest he reached, there were discovered the remains of a theatre, the foundations of a temple, and other buildings, crowning a bold promontory ; but what here chiefly surprised him was the tombs, which were very numerous and large. The ground was covered with them ; "many hundreds standing apparently never having been opened, but the greater part open and pillaged." Drawings are given of rock-tombs and others, furnishing many beautiful designs, which might be copied with excellent effect in our modern cemeteries. Especially pleasing is the form of one frequently recurring, denominated by Mr. Fellows the Elizabethan, from its resemblance to the windows of that style. At Fornas, a little farther on, tomb swere also found of similar architecture, and covered with Greek inscriptions. At Patara were seen the ruins and foundations of temples, theatres, and churches. From Patara, his next stage was to Xanthus, where was much of ruin, inscription, and sculpture to arrest his attention. It was to this place and to other parts of Lycia, but to this city chiefly, that our author devoted himself, on his second visit to Asia Minor in 1840.

The most interesting circumstance, attending the researches of Mr. Fellows in Lycia, will be deemed, we suppose, the dis-

covery of inscriptions in the ancient Lycian language, long a dead language, the key to which can hardly be found, until further transcriptions shall be made by future travellers, and some shall be found in both Lycian and Greek. We pass, however, at once from this too learned theme, to more intelligible matters, at least. The city has not the appearance of having been very large, and no mention is made of imposing remains of temples and theatres. But in sculpture, in the form of bas-reliefs, the tombs are particularly rich; and from these many drawings were made, and some descriptions are given. The subjects are not easily understood. At Tlos, a short distance from Xanthus, ruins of massy and extensive buildings were found, with richly wrought cornices and mouldings, indicating a place of luxury and wealth; but no more inscriptions in the Lycian character. The ancient Stratoniceia presents a wide field of ruin, the remains of five or six temples, parts of them covered with inscriptions, all Mr. Fellows thinks capable of being deciphered. Passing through several cities in Caria, each distinguished by some interesting relic of antiquity, he reached the famous Ephesus, of which the ruins, except the theatre, the scene of the riot raised by Demetrius the silversmith, "which is a work of much grandeur," are not remarkable. No inscriptions were seen there. Being resolved to see the sites of the remaining three of the seven churches, he now bent his course to the north and successively visited Laodicea, Sardis, and Philadelphia. "The way to Laodicea was over perfectly barren sand-hills, with no trace of vegetation. As we advanced toward the ruins of the ancient city, which stand upon these sterile hills, we saw hovering over a ravine before us three or four eagles, and on coming to the spot, we disturbed a grand assemblage of them. I counted nearly a hundred." The foundations of two theatres and several temples were easily traced. Of Philadelphia little remains. Thirty-six miles brought him to Sardis, the last of the seven churches, where the only object of interest was the ruins of a colossal temple on the banks of the Pactolus, which, he thinks, from some of the columns having been prepared for fluting, but not cut, was never completed. The ride of another day brought our author once more to Smyrna, after a journey of three thousand miles, through a country as full of interest to the lover of art and antiquity, as any part of the world can furnish.

Before closing his volume, Mr. Fellows records his impres-

sions of the Mahommedan character ; and they are very favorable ones. On his first arrival in the East, his prejudices were all on the side of the Greek ; but they seem to have been completely reversed, by intercourse with the people of the two nations. It is obvious, however, that the Greek, to be judged fairly, should be seen and studied at home. But the judgment of Mr. Fellows is not only unfavorable to the Greek in the comparisons he institutes, but if anything, more so to the Christian of Europe. In these opinions he is more than supported, by the late traveller in the East, Mr. Addison. It may be useful to the Christian, always boasting of his religion and civilization, to see how he is approached in most things, surpassed in many, by the followers of a false prophet.

"The pervading character of the people," says Mr. Fellows, "is their entire devotion to their religion. It forms the civil as well as moral law ; and instead of being interrupted by worldly business and interests, is indissolubly associated with the occupations of every hour of the day, and every action of the life. Prayer is with them universal, and peculiar to no place,—sought equally in the field and chamber, as in the mosque. Every one pursues his own devotion independently of a priesthood (which here does not exist) with perfect simplicity, and without ostentation. The character, habits, customs, manners, health, and whole life of the people appear formed by their religion. I have not read the Koran, and my judgment of the religion is formed from its professors, who indeed appear not to be *mere* professors. That the religion regulates all civil relations, and duties, I have been constantly made aware, by the replies to my questions, why this thing or that thing was done ; the invariable answer being, that their religion commanded it. The law and the religion, being one, are taught together to the children from their infancy ; and on any breach of the duties thus inculcated, the Sultan's power to punish is absolute, and its exercise sure.

"The feature in the character of the people, which first presents itself to the stranger and sojourner among them, is hospitality. It was proffered to me by all ranks, from the Pasha to the peasant in his tent among the mountains, and was tendered as a thing of course, without the idea of any return being made. No question was asked ; distinction of nation or religion, of rich or poor, was not thought of ; but feed the stranger was the universal law.

"Their honesty next strikes the traveller. It was my constant habit to leave on the outside of my tent the saddles, bridles, cooking apparatus, and everything not required within,

where I and my servant slept, without the least fear of losing anything, although persons were passing by, and gratifying their curiosity by examining my property. I never lost even a piece of a string. On noticing this to my servant, a Greek, he *excused* the honesty of the Turks by saying, that their religion did not allow them to steal. There is sufficient temptation to offend, in the dresses commonly worn by the women and children, richly embroidered by the current gold coin of the country; but the law, 'thou shalt not steal,' seems to receive from them implicit and universal obedience.

"Truth, the twin sister of honesty, is equally conspicuous in them; and here again the *Greek* apologizes for them,—the Mahometan dares not lie; his religion forbids it.

"The national custom, which makes it the privilege of the son to do the offices of an attendant on his father, instils into the character of the people the duty of honoring parents. In every relation and circumstance in which I saw them, in their families, and among strangers, love and kindness to one another seemed to prevail; sincerity banishes suspicion, and honesty and candor beget openness in all their dealings.

"In obedience to their religion, which, like the Jewish law, forbids taking interest for money, they abstain from carrying on many lucrative trades connected with the lending of money. Hence other nations, generally the Armenians, act as their bankers.

"From their religious devotion they derive a submission to the divine will so entire, that it has drawn upon them the misrepresentation of being fatalists. To prevent evil they are as earnest as others. I have seen them using all their efforts to extinguish fires; and have often been solicited by them for medicine; and they easily receive advice to check illness; but if the fire cannot be arrested, they submit, and say "God is great!" and if the malady terminate in death, though of a child or parent, the nervous eye alone shows the working of the heart, and the body is committed to the grave with the submissive reflection, 'God is great and merciful.'

"The permission, given by the Mahometan law to polygamy, is one of the serious charges, brought against the moral character of its professors. But though the law allows several wives, it is a liberty of which the people seldom take advantage. I have seen in thousands of instances the Turk in his tent, with his one wife, appearing as constant in his attachment to her, as a peasant in a Christian country. It is in the palaces of the rich and the great alone, and in the midst of luxury and state, that many wives are assembled.

"Before I visited this people, I fancied their character was cruel; but so far from finding proofs of this, I have noticed that their treatment of the brute creation, as well as of one another, is peculiarly the reverse. Instruments of punishment for beasts of burden are scarcely known. Their only influence over the camel is obtained by kindness and rewards; and its obedience is most complete. The absence of fear in all birds and beasts is very striking to an European, and is alone sufficient to exculpate the Turk from this charge.

"To the abstinence of this people from wine, the peculiar law of Mahomet, is perhaps to be attributed very much of their moral as well as physical health. The stream of intemperance, which would undermine the pure principles of conduct above adverted to, is thus totally arrested. The physical result of this law is strikingly manifest in the absence of cripples, and the general exemption of the Turks from illness; toothache being almost the only ill, to which they are often subject. One of the moral benefits of temperance may be traced, in the exemption of the people from abject poverty. I have seen no beggars, except the blind, and few persons looking poor. The people's wants, which are few, are generally well supplied; and in every tent there is a meal for the stranger, whatever be his condition. I have never seen a Turk under the influence of opium; and I believe that the use of this stimulant is confined to the licentious inhabitants of the capital.

"Does not Christian Europe stand rebuked before these faithful followers of the prophet? Were we as devoted to our religion as the Mahometans are to theirs, what a heaven upon earth would our lands be! The superstitions, and total want of morality in the professors of the Greek church, may well deter the Turks from seeking to change their faith. The disciples of the Greek church frequently become followers of the prophet, when it will forward their commercial or political interest; but there is scarcely ever an instance of the conversion of a Turk to what is called Christianity. At Constantinople, I attended the church of England service, which was admirably performed by an English missionary. The clergyman's family with an Armenian and myself, formed the whole congregation.

"My intimacy with the character of the Turks, which had led me to think so highly of their moral excellence, has not given me the same favorable impression of the development of their mental powers. Their refinement is of the manners and affections; there is little cultivation or activity of mind among them. Their personal cleanliness, the richness and taste of their costume, and the natural delicacy of all their customs, are very remarkable. In society they are always perfectly at their ease; and

among the peasantry I noticed none of that sheepishness, so often exhibited by rustics in the presence of superiors." — p. 297—299.

Such is Mr. Fellows' opinion of the Turk; Mr. Addison's, as we have hinted, is even more favorable. Surely it is not strange that Christianity should make no progress among such a people. If these accounts are true and fair, they are already in advance of the Christian, in some of the best virtues of life, and in a simple, childlike faith. Three things seem to be admitted, in which they are immeasurably superior to the Christian, in the religious duty of prayer, in honesty, and temperance. While they are devout towards God, upright in their dealings with men, and sober, we cannot wish them to be converted to Christianity, until, at least, Christianity shall become the *thing*, of which it is now so often but the empty and lying name. The vainest of all vain attempts is that of making proselytes of Pagan nations to the Christian *faith*, while the fruit of that faith, which you hold up to them, they can see to be rotten and nothing worth. The tree of Christian faith, that in India hangs out its blood-red fruit, will effectually secure the people against the reception of any religion that, — as they will deem, — nourishes and enforces so monstrous a tyranny. Where barbarism and vice are found rank and hideous, as among the inhabitants of the Polynesian isles, and in the deserts of Africa, the Christian may strike them as an improved form of humanity, and his virtues, even such as they are, may recommend his faith. But no such effect can be expected, for a long series of years, to be produced upon the Mussulman, or the civilized Asiatic, — upon the people of Turkey, Hindostan, China, or Japan. "When *thou art converted*, strengthen thy brethren." When the Christian has been himself first converted, he may hope to convert the world; till then his labor will be in vain.

The copy, from which we have made these long, and we trust interesting extracts, is one belonging to the Library of Harvard College; neither of the volumes of Mr. Fellows having been reprinted in this country, and so generally accessible. It appears in all the beauty of the London press, — type, paper, engraving, giving perfect satisfaction to the most critical eye. But, on first opening the volume, we perceived that the same practice has been adopted, to some extent at least, at the College Library, which has injured so many fine works of art in

the Boston Atheneum, that of stamping upon each engraving a red brand, bearing the name of the College. In the present work all the engravings are disfigured in this manner, — the seal being sometimes confined to the margin of the print, but frequently impressed upon the very choicest part of the picture. This is done, we are informed, as a protection against theft, many valuable prints having been cut from volumes, and stolen. But we cannot think that so many have been lost in this way, as to make it worth while to resort to a remedy so injurious to the book, and that inflicts a deeper stain on the character of the people, than even on the book. It were better, as a choice of evils, that fifty plates were stolen annually from the Library, and nothing said about it, than that all should be so defaced, and every person, who opens a volume, told he is a suspected thief. We do not believe, however, that five prints of any value would be lost in a year. But even if the stamp be affixed, why might it not be confined to the margin of the picture, or the back, where it would be comparatively harmless? With nine thieves out of ten, that would be effectual; for the nine filch for some very idle purpose, such as adding a few prints to their small portfolio, or in pinning them up in their room, and would be easily deterred; — but for the tenth, he is probably one who *really* wants what he takes; and if his conscience interposes no obstacle, fifty red stamps would avail nothing. The valuable and rare engravings of Bartolozzi, from Guercino's pictures, a large number of which were cut from a volume in the Boston Atheneum not long since, were perhaps taken by an artist, to whom, for reasons of art, they were worth more than as many sheets of gold. Whether this new practice is adopted from European Libraries, or whether we have the honor of its invention, we know not. If in the libraries of Europe it has become a settled usage, we suppose it must be submitted to, as what a wide experience has proved to be necessary.

- ART. VI. — 1. *Homœopathy and its Kindred Delusions ;— two Lectures delivered before the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D. pp. 72. William D. Ticknor.
2. *Popular Considerations on Homœopathy.* By WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

WE had projected and, in some measure, made preparation for the following article, before the publication of the works whose titles we have placed at the head of it. The very thorough and able examination of the system of Homœopathy, contained in the lectures of Dr. Holmes, seems almost to render any other consideration of the subject unnecessary. Still, as it is one of great importance to the community, as the principles by which it is to be judged are the same, as those by which we are to judge of other systems making similar pretensions, and as moreover our pages may meet the eyes of some, in whose way the book may not fall, it may not be amiss to persevere in our intention. In doing this, we shall avail ourselves freely of the materials which the author has collected with so much industry, and presented to his readers in a manner so lively, clear, and interesting

Dr. Holmes prepares the way for his examination of Homœopathy by a brief history of certain other supposed modes of curing diseases, which obtained pretty extensive belief at some former period. The first of these is the power believed to be inherent in the royal touch of curing scrofula ; and this was practised by the monarchs of England down to the time of Queen Anne, with the single exception of William the Third. The belief in the efficacy of this remedy was almost universal, and nearly a hundred thousand persons were touched in twelve years by Charles the Second. This belief is not yet entirely extinct. We have known much more conclusive evidence of the removal of certain cutaneous excrescences, by the touch of persons supposed to possess a mysterious power of this sort, than we have for any of the reputed cures of Homœopathy.

The second is the weapon ointment and the sympathetic powder. "The Unguentum Armarium, or Weapon Ointment, was a preparation used for the healing of wounds ; but instead of its being applied to them, the injured part was washed and bandaged, and the weapon, with which the wound was inflicted, was carefully anointed with the unguent." "The sympathetic

powder was said to have the faculty, if applied to the blood-stained garment of a wounded person, to cure his injuries, even though he were at a great distance at the time." Both of these were the subjects of general belief, in their time, and the former received the qualified sanction of even Lord Bacon himself.

The third is the proposal for the cure of all diseases by Tar-water, by the celebrated Bishop Berkeley, and advocated by him in the most zealous manner. This, after having like the others acquired a certain degree of notoriety, passed like them into an oblivion, from which probably not even the earnestness and eloquence of a second Berkeley, would be sufficient to recall it.

The fourth mode of curing disease was by means of certain instruments called Metallic Tractors. This was proposed to the world just at the close of the last century. Dr. Holmes gives a full account of its rise and decline in public confidence. It is sufficient to say that, after infecting all classes of persons on both sides of the Atlantic, the mania went out of itself. The evidence of the efficacy of the tractors seemed, to a considerable proportion of mankind, clear and decisive; the principal members of the medical profession, who regarded the whole matter as a delusion or an imposture, were as usual abused for their incredulity and illiberality. Notwithstanding, however, the patronage of the gentry, nobility, and even royalty itself, so completely has Perkinism, as it was called from the name of the projector, passed away, that few of the present generation have ever heard its name; and a pair of Tractors is as rare and curious a relic, as a surgical instrument dug out of the ruins of Pompeii.

Every body, we suppose, admits these to have been delusions. But what have they to do with Homœopathy? Very much; because they show that strong popular belief, numerous apparent cures, a great many real recoveries, the confident assertion of a success greater than that of the regular practice may all appear in favor of a system, and yet that system turn out in the end to be a fallacy. This is precisely the condition of Homœopathy. It has its advocates in the profession and out of it, who assert all with regard to it that was asserted for the Tractors, and with precisely the same kind and amount of evidence. Now it does not follow that Homœopathy is a fallacy because Perkinism was, — but it at least makes it the part of wisdom to look carefully to its evidence. It does

not show Homœopathy to be false, — but it shows that the kind and amount of evidence, which is presented for it, is not sufficient to prove it to be true. So far as anything has yet appeared in its favor, we see nothing to preserve it from the fate which has attended its kindred systems. Sooner or later it must die out. There is, indeed, one association which may in a certain sense falsify our prediction, and render the name at least of this science long remembered among mankind. Just in the same way that the fame of Tar water remains as an appendage to the reputation of Bishop Berkeley, — Homœopathy has secured to itself a quasi immortality, in that its praises have been said, — would they had been sung, — by William Cullen Bryant.

But though this may be so clear to those, whose lives have been spent in the examination of such subjects, and whose daily occupation it is to sift and detect the fallacies of this kind of evidence, we cannot expect it to be so to the world in general. To them the case seems well made out. We are not surprised that it so seems. Since, however, the medical profession are often the objects of some obloquy, — and are not unfrequently charged with mercenary motives on account of their opposition to all new schemes of practice, we propose to enter into some little examination of the evidence for Homœopathy in particular, and into the nature of medical evidence in general, in order to make intelligible the grounds upon which judgment is, apparently so hastily, pronounced. We do not intend to cast ridicule upon it, nor to show it to be absurd. This would be no test of its truth. Many things have been made to appear both absurd and ridiculous, which have yet turned out to be true. We would not raise, nor would we join any clamor against it. We have no idea that we or any body else can *put it down*, but we shall endeavor to show that its evidence is, in its nature and amount, insufficient to uphold it.

The habit of examining and detecting the fallacies of evidence begets a degree of suspicion and distrust in many minds, which is excessive and unreasonable. Hence the investigation of such subjects as the present is not always undertaken in a spirit, which secures the confidence of those whose opinion it is sought to influence. We find among those, who turn their attention to them, two classes of persons, very distinct from each other in the character of their minds, and in their mode of judging, — those who believe at first sight, and those who disbelieve

at first sight. The former are men of sanguine temperament, active and rapid imagination, a zealous spirit, a love for excitement and novelty, superficial, hasty, deficient in penetration and judgment. The latter are slow and cautious to excess, wedded to established opinions, deficient in enterprise and zeal, accurate in their judgment, so far as their facts extend, but not anxious to increase the common stock of facts. The former are credulous, — the latter incredulous. The former seize upon a new opinion or a new enterprise, which has in it anything plausible, anything which excites the imagination, or which promises on its surface to produce great results; they overlook the amount or kind of evidence by which it is supported, and will not examine it; they look only at the promised effects, and become at once the zealous apostles of a new doctrine. The latter look with distrust on everything new in philosophy or practical science; warned, as they judge, by a sufficient experience, they infer that it is the part of wisdom to reject at once everything that is new, especially when it comes at all in conflict with any of their preconceived opinions. The former admit without evidence, the latter reject without evidence.

The latter, or the incredulous man, is quite as much in the way of the advancement of truth as the former. He is willing at all times to place his *a priori* judgment in the balance against a new opinion, without a fair examination of the evidence for it. In this way he promotes the prevalence of erroneous opinions. Those who hold them will not yield them to authority, and when they see that he, who opposes them, does it from prejudice and without looking fairly into the evidence, his rejection, however emphatic, will have but little influence.

We conceive that none of us, even the most clear-sighted, are competent to assume the office of judges of what is and what is not possible, or likely to be true. We have none of us a right to say of any opinion or alleged discovery, which is held or believed by respectable authority, that we will condemn it without examining its evidence; that its absurdity and intrinsic improbability renders an examination unnecessary; that it is so inconsistent with our previous knowledge of the laws of nature, or the nature of things, that no evidence can satisfy us of its truth. This is a mistaken ground. It is true that in a vast majority of cases we should be safe in thus judging, so far as the result is concerned, — but there will be now and then an important exception. How do we know that our previous knowl-

edge of the laws of nature is to be in all points trusted. Human opinions of the nature of things, and of what is within the bounds of possibility, have been constantly changing. It was once thought possible that a man's personal fortunes were connected with the heavenly bodies, and quite absurd to imagine that the earth moved, while the sun stood still. Now, these opinions have changed places. But if those, who cry humbug at every new opinion, had had their way, we doubt not they would have remained just as they were.

We do not mean to deny that the nature of a proposition is to have some influence on its reception. Some things are of course much more probable than others. That, which harmonizes with and corresponds to all that we have been taught to believe true, is to be much more readily admitted, than that which contradicts all our previous knowledge. This makes a great difference in the amount and character of the evidence necessary to our conviction. Still we are finally to reject a proposition, not from its nature alone, but because it is not supported by the requisite proof. If one, which is at variance with previous opinions, be apparently supported by reasonable proof, we are then bound to reëxamine the evidence for those opinions, and the inquiry may end, as it has often ended, in finding *them* to be unfounded.

The true philosophical spirit lies between the two states of mind, to which we have referred. It is a spirit of rational skepticism. The inquirer, possessed of this spirit, instructed by the experience of all who have been engaged in the pursuit of truth, holds himself carefully against deception from all quarters; from prejudice within, as well as false testimony from without. He knows very well, that of what is seized upon by the ardent and imaginative, and presented to mankind as truth, an immense proportion turns out to be error. He is prepared therefore to expect of most new things, that they will prove to be of this character. He knows, that of the evidence on which is founded a belief in them, even alleged facts, a large proportion is deceptive in its character, and is the fruit of limited and imperfect, and sometimes even fraudulent observation. He knows that few men are accurate observers, or competent judges of facts. He is therefore predisposed to doubt, and yet not predetermined to disbelieve. In all cases, where evidence is offered, he is willing to suspend opinion and weigh it. He is too distrustful of human power, too profoundly impressed with

the limited extent of human knowledge, to assert of anything, which has the support of respectable authority, that it is absurd and impossible. He admits nothing without sufficient evidence, and he rejects nothing with. If anything be really absurd, impossible, inconsistent with the laws of nature, he is sure that it can be so proved ; he waits therefore till it is so proved, and does not at once brand it as an absurdity, and its advocates as fools or impostors. He does not reject because a thing is too wonderful, too improbable, too much at variance with previous knowledge. He is the more cautious in examining the evidence it offers, but it is only from a failure in the amount and kind of evidence by which it is supported, that he pronounces a final judgment of condemnation.

With that strange inconsistency, which we often see in human character, we sometimes discover, combined in the same persons, the apparently opposite conditions of mind to which we have referred. Governed by prejudice and preconceived opinion, rather than by a careful examination of evidence, they believe what corresponds with their prejudices and opinions, and disbelieve what does not. In this way we detect in some an almost ludicrous mixture of credulity and incredulity. There are, for example, those who will not admit the existence of a God, or of their own souls, but who believe firmly in the original faculty of a natural bone-setter, and the instinctive medical skill of a seventh son. They deny the inspiration of the prophet, but bow humbly to that of the quack. They scorn the credulity of him, who puts faith in the evidence of a miracle, but give ready credit to stories of the royal touch, the divining rod, or the influence of the stars.

With these views of the principles, which should guide us in the investigation, we hope to be able to examine the subject before us in a candid spirit, according to its evidence, and its evidence only. It is true, Homœopathy appears to us in the highest degree improbable ; we can conceive of nothing more so. But this is not a sufficient cause for its rejection. It makes it necessary to insist upon the most ample and unqualified evidence for its truth, before we admit it. It makes it necessary that we should sift the facts, which it offers in its support, in the most rigorous manner. It requires that we should look carefully at every other possible explanation of its facts, before we allow its truth. Still it is too much to say that it is impossible, and that no evidence can establish it. It is within the limits of

evidence, and by its evidence therefore is it to be finally judged. The amount and character of its evidence is therefore the real question before us.

It is necessary, in the first place, to give some brief account of Homœopathy, as we understand it, and what it requires us to believe.

Homœopathy has been in existence about fifty years, and was founded by Dr. Samuel Hahnemann, a German physician, still living at Paris. "The one great doctrine," says Dr. Holmes, "which constitutes the basis of Homœopathy as a system, is expressed by the Latin Aphorism '*Similia similibus curantur*,' or *like cures like* ; that is, diseases are cured by agents capable of producing symptoms resembling those found in the disease under treatment." — p. 30.

"The second great fact, which Hahnemann professes to have established, is the *efficacy of medicinal substances reduced to a wonderful degree of minuteness or dilution*. The following account of his mode of preparing his medicines is from his work on Chronic Diseases, which has not, I believe, yet been translated into English. A grain of the substance, if it is solid, a drop if it is liquid, is to be added to about a third part of one hundred grains of sugar of milk, in an unglazed porcelain capsule, which has had the polish removed from the lower part of its cavity by rubbing it with wet sand ; they are to be mingled for an instant with a bone or horn spatula, and then rubbed together for six minutes ; then the mass is to be scraped together from the mortar and pestle, which is to take four minutes ; then to be again rubbed for six minutes. Four minutes are then to be devoted to scraping the powder into a heap, and the second third of the hundred grains of sugar of milk to be added. Then they are to be stirred an instant and rubbed six minutes, again to be scraped together four minutes and forcibly rubbed six ; once more scraped together for four minutes, when the last third of the hundred grains of sugar of milk is to be added and mingled by stirring with the spatula ; six minutes of forcible rubbing, four of scraping together, and six more (positively the last six) of rubbing, finish this part of the process.

"Every grain of this powder contains the hundredth of a grain of the medicinal substance mingled with the sugar of milk. — If, therefore, a grain of the powder just prepared is mingled with another hundred grains of sugar of milk, and the process just described repeated, we shall have a powder of which every grain contains the hundredth of the hundredth, or the ten thou-

sandth part of a grain of the medicinal substance. Repeat the same process with the same quantity of fresh sugar of milk, and every grain of your powder will contain the millionth of a grain of the medicinal substance. — When the powder is of this strength, it is proper to employ in the further solutions and dilutions to be made use of in practice.

"A grain of the powder is to be taken, a hundred drops of alcohol to be poured on it, the vial to be slowly turned for a few minutes, until the powder is dissolved, and two shakes to be given to it. On this point I will quote Hahnemann's own words. 'A long experience and multiplied observations upon the sick led me within the last few years to prefer giving only two shakes to medicinal liquids, whereas I formerly used to give ten.' — The process of dilution is carried on in the same way as the attenuation of the powder was done; each successive dilution with alcohol reducing the medicine to a hundredth part of the quantity of that which preceded it. In this way the dilution of the original millionth of a grain of medicine contained in the grain of powder operated on, is carried successively to the billionth, trillionth, quadrillionth, quintillionth, and very often much higher fractional divisions. A dose of any of these medicines is a minute fraction of a drop, obtained by moistening with them one or more little globules of sugar, of which, Hahnemann says, it takes about two hundred to weigh a grain.

"As an instance of the strength of the medicines prescribed by Hahnemann, I will mention carbonate of lime. He does not employ common chalk, but prefers a little portion of the friable part of an oyster shell. Of this substance, carried to the sextillionth degree, so much as one or two globules of the size mentioned can imbibe, is a common dose. But for persons of very delicate nerves it is proper that the dilution should be carried to the decillionth degree. That is, an important medicinal effect is to be expected from the two hundredth or hundredth part of the millionth of the millionth of the millionth of the millionth, of the millionth of the millionth of the millionth, of the millionth, of the millionth of the millionth of a grain of oyster-shell. This is only the tenth degree of potency, but some of his disciples profess to have obtained palpable effects from much higher dilutions.

"The third great doctrine of Hahnemann is the following. *Seven-eighths at least of all chronic diseases* are produced by the existence in the system of that infectious disorder, known in the language of science by the appellation of Psora, but to the less refined portion of the community by the name of Itch." — pp. 30-32.

Now, among these several items, the really important point is the claim which is set up for the efficacy of the infinitesimal doses. Its advocates maintain that the effects of their remedies are most satisfactorily obtained, by their administration in quantities of the most extraordinary minuteness, and that they are able to subdivide these remedies to a degree, which defies not only perception and calculation, but even conception. This, we say, is the principle in Homœopathy, which demands examination. The others present nothing in themselves difficult to believe; nothing more incredible, on proper evidence, than a good proportion of the medical theories, which have been from time to time promulgated. Till the efficacy of the infinitesimal doses is proved, it will be hardly worth while to contend about the rest. We can well afford to take them upon trust, or defer their examination till the proof of this is complete. The following are the considerations, which render this so difficult to be believed.

It is, in the first place, very improbable that any effect should be produced by quantities of matter, however powerful, in such minute quantities. Generally the effect of any given substance on the human body, is in proportion to quantity. It is true there are some apparent exceptions, but as a general truth no one can deny this. Homœopathy claims, on the contrary, a greater effect on disease from a diminished dose; it asserts that an article, which is capable of no assignable effect in an appreciable quantity, may act as a remedy when given in a dose indefinitely less. Carbonate of lime in the dose of a grain, has no influence; in that of a millionth of a grain it assumes important powers; the same of charcoal, of chamomile, &c. This is all possible, but so extremely improbable, from its being at variance with all that we know of the laws, according to which substances act on the human body, that it requires a prodigious force of evidence to establish it. A drop of laudanum is swallowed and not felt. Diffuse this same drop in the waters of Lake Superior, and a tea-spoonful of it is capable of producing medicinal effects.

It is true, there are instances in which some substances in very minute quantities do produce assignable effects; as in the case of odors, the fragrant principle of flowers, of hay, the miasmata which produce disease, &c. There is a certain force in this analogy. It is sufficient to establish the general fact, that matter of particular kinds, in a state of very minute di-

vision, is capable of producing an appreciable effect on the human body. But it goes no farther. These are not substances which, by minute subdivision, are shown to assume new properties and produce greater effects. On the contrary, when we can get at the concrete substance, from which, so far as we know, the minute agents in question proceed, we find in it the same properties in a vastly more intense state, as in musk and the otto of roses.

The most that can come of this analogy is to remove the *a priori* objection, that no matter can act on the body in a state of such subdivision. It amounts to no positive proof, but only prepares the way for it. But further than this, is all matter capable of a subdivision so minute, as that which would be required? On the contrary, it is probable that all matter is not capable of it. The analogy of odors does not apply here. In their case the diffused principle is one *sui generis*; we do not understand the condition in which it exists. At any rate it is something very different from the mechanical subdivision of the substance, from which the odor proceeds.

But admitting that matter is *capable* of this division, it must still be regarded as very doubtful, whether it be *practicable*, so as to make it certain that each dose of medicine shall contain the designated quantity of the drug intended for it. We have no tests to determine this. Taste, smell, chemical agents are out of the question. The only proof of the presence of the drug is its effects as a medicine, so that the inquiry becomes quite a complicated one. It is necessary to assume the efficacy of the medicine as a remedy, in order to prove that it is present at all; whilst, on the other hand, to show that any agent thus subdivided can act as a remedy, it is very important to be sure that it has actually been administered. We do not state this as a proof against either the presence or the efficacy of the medicine; it does not amount to this; but it does show what very great difficulties the establishment of the truth of Homœopathy presents, and that it is no light or easy matter to prove things with regard to it, which seem to be almost taken for granted.

Besides this, if this doctrine of infinitesimal doses be true, we are constantly exposed, both in sickness and in health, to their presence and influence. All nature is drugged; our food, our drink, the very air we breathe must be full of medicinal substances, in this state of minute subdivision; our own organs, our fluids contain a multitude of these substances, as sulphur, lime,

arsenic, iron ; and how can the addition of an indefinitely small particle, in one of the Homœopathic globules, give rise to so great an effect, as the controlling of a violent disease ? It is true, the Homœopathist may urge that the mode of preparation develops the properties of the substance, and that a particle thus elaborated has very different qualities from those, which enter into the composition of our food, or into that of our organs ; or which are applied to our lungs through the medium of the air. It may be so ; but then it can only be proved by a very complicated chain of evidence ; it will not do to assume it.

It would seem that those who are converts to Homœopathy do not fully possess themselves of the real character of this doctrine, of its great improbability, nor of the difficulties which surround the proof of it, supposing it to be true. When persons, not accustomed to such calculations, are met with objections of the kind just stated, they do not appreciate fully their force. They have no adequate conception of the minuteness of the division required. Their notions of subdivision, after they get above the hundredth or thousandth, are very indefinite. They are like those of the savage for all numbers, beyond those which he can count with his fingers. When they approximate a just idea of the difficulty, they satisfy themselves with the consideration, that the medicines must be a great deal stronger than those in common use, and that they consequently require to be exhibited in much smaller doses.

But this, though the common, is a mistaken idea. The drugs themselves, even in the usual doses, are not more potent than those employed in ordinary practice ; and many of them, as opium, belladonna, calomel, are identically the same, except in dose, and perhaps in some greater nicety of preparation, in order to ensure the purity of the article employed.

If we have succeeded in making this statement intelligible, we conceive that it must be admitted on all hands to constitute, — not an objection to the truth of Homœopathy, that is a different question, — but a serious difficulty in the way of establishing its truth by sufficient evidence, even admitting it to be true. In order to prove anything so improbable in itself, and so difficult from its nature of tangible proofs, we must require a body of very strong, clear, and unquestioned evidence. Now this evidence, it is obvious, ought, in the first place, to show, that the treatment of the Homœopathist is more successful, than any other mode of treatment ; and, in the second place, that this success

is owing to the medicines which they administer, and not to any other circumstances in their management.

The Homœopathist asserts that his practice is more successful. No doubt he honestly believes it to be so. But what is his proof? He offers no tangible body of evidence. It is merely his belief, his impression from the results of his experience. He gives you no statistical returns on a large scale. He does not give you what we should require, in order to establish the efficacy of any remedy in the regular practice. It is evidence, precisely the same in kind and amount, as that which has been offered for a thousand theories and remedies and systems of practice, which have had their day and gone down. Can any difference be pointed out between the strength or amount of the proofs of the success of the Homœopathic practice, and that which was offered for the success of Perkinism, of Tar water, of the Brunonian practice, of that of Broussais, of the Hygeian pills, of the treatment of Mr. St. John Long, of the influence of Grahamism, and that which is daily offered, and by men of average intelligence too, for the success of the Thompsonian system of practice, on the one hand, and the extreme Bleeding and Calomel practice, on the other?

We say the proofs are precisely the same in character and amount. We can see no difference. All claim greater general success; all assert remarkable individual cases of cure. But these systems cannot all be true; with regard to most of them the common sense of mankind has long since passed its judgment. We do not pretend that this is conclusive against Homœopathy. It goes only to show that it has not yet presented us with evidence of that kind, which is necessary to establish its superiority to other systems in the face of its greater improbability. It is not enough that it can bring as much proof as they. It must bring vastly more.

We do not claim any more conclusive proof in kind for the regular practice. Its evidence is for the most part of the same character, viz. the general impression left on the minds of practitioners by their experience. But there is this point in its favor, when compared with others, that its evidence has been accumulating; that, although there have been great varieties in the details of practice, and some great revolutions as to its principles, yet there are certain cardinal points of treatment, in regard to which there has been a general agreement, the result of the long, and we may say, transmitted experience of the

members of the profession for many ages. There are difficulties, and discrepancies, and doubts enough we must admit; there has been abundance of folly and absurdity among the professors of the art; but after all it has stood the test of time, and it is the only one which has. The regular physician of the present day is the lineal descendant of the great fathers of the healing art. He is the representative of a succession of men, who have, for two thousand years at least, devoted themselves to the faithful study of the causes and cure of disease. We say faithful; for no one can deny that the profession has been cultivated by sincere lovers of truth; that they have untiringly sought it in medicine by the same modes of investigation, that have been crowned with success, sooner or later, in other departments of science.

During this period, new systems of theory or of practice have been coming up and going down, both in the profession and out of it. The effect of these has been occasionally to modify the regular practice. Valuable suggestions have been derived from the experiments, which these systems were the means of instituting. But the regular members of the profession have retained, in the main, the confidence of mankind; partly because the world saw that the leading minds among them were essentially lovers of truth, and sought it earnestly; partly because, as a body, they have been men, from their talent and moral character, worthy of the confidence of their fellow men; and partly too, because it was found that, notwithstanding occasional misgivings, where great results were promised from new methods, the sick were, in the long run, as successfully managed by them as by others; and that, although there was often much trick and quackery in the regular profession, there was a great deal more out of it.

We have asserted that the evidence for Homœopathy is of the same kind, as that adduced for other systems of practice; the author of the second pamphlet before us, however, would persuade us that it is of an entirely different character. He cites, with an air of some little triumph, the statements of men very eminent in medicine, with regard to the uncertain, unsatisfactory, and conjectural character of medical evidence and practice. The confessions they contain are sufficiently striking; yet no man of intelligence and honesty will hesitate to admit, that they are as true as they are candid. But we by no means admit the inference, that all our knowledge in medicine is val-

ueless, because so much of it is conjectural and uncertain ; nor is it made very clear that Homœopathy is free from the difficulties, which are admitted to exist in the regular practice. No reasonable man, who looks fairly at the subject, can doubt for a moment, that all systems of medicine must, from their very nature, be subject to the same sort of difficulty, uncertainty, and obscurity. The evils referred to grow out of the nature of the subject. They are not in any degree escaped by Homœopathy. There is no source of uncertainty or obscurity, to which judgment in medicine is liable, to which Homœopathy is not also liable ; and even if it be true, that the remedies of the Homœopathist have a power of controlling disease, which the ordinary remedies have not, this does not remove the sources of uncertainty in medical evidence ; for the process, by which this is to be proved, is precisely the same, as that by which the truth of other systems must be tested. Now, if so many learned and able men have been engaged, for two thousand years, in endeavoring to get at truth in medicine, and have found their labors in vain, from the essential difficulties connected with the kind of investigation, is it likely that a single individual should have arrived at certainty, after a few years, by precisely the same methods ? It does not appear that Hahnemann or his disciples judge of the effects of practice in disease, in a manner different from other physicians ; certainly not in a more strict one. They are then liable to the same difficulties of judgment. The nature of the subject is not changed, because it is examined on a different theory ; and if it is so exceedingly difficult to come to satisfactory results on the old system, it must be equally so on the new. Homœopathy may be true, but it is no easier nor quicker a process to get at the facts which prove it to be true.

But it may be satisfactory to those not familiar with this subject, to state more definitely what the difficulties are, which stand in the way of successful judgment in medicine, in order that we may see if they are escaped by the Homœopathist.

The first inquiry in every case is as to the character of the disease. It is true the Homœopathist does not regard it as necessary to know what the disease is, but what the prominent symptoms are ; but as we proceed, we think it will appear that this makes but little difference, and that in either case the inquirer is liable to many sources of error. The Homœopathist, like the Allopathist, as he styles the common practitioner, is chiefly concerned in the study of symptoms ; he must have recourse to

the same sources for information ; and the information from these sources is liable to error, as much in the case of the one as the other. Error arises from the imperfect knowledge of those from whom we inquire, their imperfect observation, the influence of hope, fear, imagination, delicacy, diffidence, on their accounts. We may be led in what we observe ourselves to misapprehend, misinterpret, or overlook. We may be drawn into frequent mistakes from the character of the patient and those around him. Some persons are timid and imaginative, and detail the dictates of their fears and fancies ; some are fond of sympathy, and insensibly to themselves magnify their sufferings, and exaggerate and even invent symptoms in order to secure it ; and some, destitute of fortitude and patience, complain much with but little cause. In others the opposite tendencies lead to a mistaken apprehension of the importance of their disease, or the relative prominence of their symptoms. They are resolute, enduring, shunning pity, fearful of exciting it, and consequently seeking to make the least, instead of the most of all they suffer, and often concealing what they should disclose. The same degree of pain, for which one man will roll on the floor and cry out in agony, another will bear without a motion, a groan, or a complaint. Differences in the character of those around the sick make it often difficult to get at the exact facts of a case. They too are timid and fanciful ; they love the sympathy, and condolence, the anxious inquiry, the comings and goings, the parade, the importance, the excitement, of the sick room ; in many this begets an habitual exaggeration of the whole circumstances of sickness, through which it is hard often to penetrate to the exact fact. Besides these there is often intentional misrepresentation, and downright falsehood. To all these sources of error both parties are liable ; if anything they are more important to the Homœopathist, because he is to be guided only by the symptoms, whilst the regular physician is often guided by certain definite signs of internal disease, which can neither be imagined nor counterfeited.

Next, the practitioner, in order to a judgment of what his remedies do for the cure of disease, must form some opinion as to the course and event of the case, if left to itself. He must know what would happen if nothing were done, in order to judge what is the effect produced by what is done. This is the most difficult part of medical judgment. A variety of circumstances render it exceedingly difficult to anticipate, with any degree of accuracy, the probable natural course of any

case. Disease is liable to frequent, sudden, and capricious variations in its course. A case, which presents the most favorable aspect to-day, may put on a fatal one to-morrow ; and, on the other hand, very unfavorable symptoms are often suddenly replaced by those which are very favorable. Then the amount of danger is not proportioned to the intensity of the symptom ; a case apparently mild may have lurking beneath it the most malignant character, and great external violence denote but little severity of actual disease. All this obstructs the Homœopathist in getting at those conditions, which are to be the guides of his practice, and which are to enable him to judge of the effects of his practice, as it does the Allopathist. Homœopathy may be a certain method of curing disease, its remedies may be more efficacious, when the disease is known and the right remedies selected ; but the difficulty of knowing the case, and selecting the remedy, is as difficult as under the old method. It requires knowledge, judgment, tact. It is open to great mistakes and great uncertainty. Let it be the prevailing faith, and we shall hear of Homœopathists disagreeing about the character of cases and the selection of remedies ; we shall hear of one practitioner charging aggravation of disease to the maladministration of remedies by another ; and we shall hear, from the candid and philosophical among them, the same confessions of doubt, uncertainty, and conjecture, wrung from them by the painful anxiety which accompanies the practice of an art, which owes its imperfect condition, not to the ignorance or presumption of man, but to a necessity growing out of the very nature of its subject ; a necessity which is due to the intention of Providence itself.

These sources of difficulty we may further illustrate by some particular examples, which, to those unacquainted with the matter, will give some conception of the great liability to mistake, which exists in relation to all judgments, concerning the distinctions of disease and the effects of remedies. It had been asserted that a certain remedy would cure intermittent fever. In order to determine this point, twenty-two cases, said to be of this disease, were placed under the care of Chomel, a highly distinguished French physician, in the wards of a hospital. Now a common observer would at once have plunged in with his remedy, and after a sufficient period counted up and published his cures. Not so our experimenter, whose object was truth and not reputation. He does not take for granted the nature of his cases ; but waits to know what they are. After a

short period, of the twenty-two all but three either subside of themselves, or turn out to be mistaken as to their character. The remaining three are then made the subject of the experiment, and the remedy produces no impression. They are then treated in the ordinary method and cured at once. Had he at once administered the new remedy to all, he would apparently have cured nineteen out of twenty-two. It is in this way that great stories of great cures are constantly and very innocently made up.

In another case the subject of experiment was an inflammation of the eye. On the first day the surgeon directed no treatment; on the second the patient was worse, still no remedy was applied; on the third the aspect of the case was so much worse; that delay was deemed no longer justifiable, and a powerful application was directed; on the fourth there was great improvement. Here would seem to have been very clear evidence of advantage from treatment. But no; it appeared on inquiry, that from some mistake the remedy had never been applied.

An instance is recorded in the life of Sir Humphrey Davy, which affords us another illustration of the elusive character of medical evidence; and at the same time exhibits the early sagacity of that distinguished philosopher. At or near the age of nineteen, (we give the account from memory,) he was a student to Dr. Beddoes, who was engaged in making experiments on the influence of the gases in disease, and who committed the charge of them to Mr. Davy. A paralytic patient was the subject; and preliminary to the administration of the remedy, a thermometer was introduced into the mouth to ascertain the temperature of the body. The patient supposed this to be the expected application, and immediately observed that he felt himself better for it. Mr. Davy, struck with the influence thus exerted by the man's imagination, resolved to keep up the deception, and accordingly omitted the intended remedy, but daily applied the thermometer. In a fortnight he was nearly well; and the case was judged by Dr. Beddoes to be so favorable to his views, as to merit immediate publication, when, accordingly, it became necessary to undeceive him.

We see not how Homœopathy escapes from that uncertainty as to its evidence, which proceeds from the possibility of occurrences of this sort. Supposing all its claims to be well founded, its superiority consists in the certainty with which its remedies

will remove their appropriate diseases; the difficulties attendant on the distinction of disease, the selection and adaptation of remedies remain the same, as under the old system. Neither can it be judged with any more certainty what would happen, were no remedy employed at all.

The nature and difficulties of medical evidence, and medical investigations, may be still further illustrated to those not familiar with it, by a comparison with other branches of knowledge. Many may imagine that medical and philosophical knowledge is capable of the same sort of definiteness, as physical and chemical. But this is entirely erroneous. We deal in chemistry, for example, with agents of a definite composition, of definite powers, and capable of producing definite effects, the powers and effects having some relation to the composition; they can be measured and weighed; the phenomena produced by their action and reaction can be distinctly ascertained, noted, and remembered, as what may be always expected to happen under similar circumstances. Besides, we can tell when the circumstances of the case are similar; and if they are not, we can make them so or wait till they are.

But in examining the influence exerted on the human body by remedies, the conditions are all different. We cannot determine the exact relation, which the state of the patient bears to a proposed remedy. His susceptibility to its action varies with disease, with accident, with state of constitution, neither of which we are capable of measuring. That, which produces a given effect to-day, may to-morrow produce one of a different kind, or a greatly increased one, or none at all. No two individuals are exactly alike, in the way in which they are affected by remedies; and few persons are affected exactly in the same way, at different times, by the same article.

A similar uncertainty prevails also with regard to the articles themselves, which are used as remedies. They may vary much in their strength; so that we may nominally give the same article, and in the same quantity, but one dose may contain twice as much of the essential element, on which the efficacy depends, as the other. Articles of vegetable origin are subject to change from time; others are originally of different strength from imperfect growth or ripening, from imperfect manufacture and preparation, and from adulteration. We cannot therefore exactly measure the force of remedies, any more than we can the condition of the system to which they are applied.

From which of these difficulties is Homœopathy free? It may claim perhaps a greater purity, and greater equality and definiteness in its remedies. Yet is this probable? Is it probable that in diffusing a grain or drop of one substance through a quantity of another equal to the contents of the whole Pacific ocean, or at least in this proportion of the two ingredients; is it probable, we ask, that each drop of the latter would contain its exact quota of the former? We do not allege this, as will be observed, as a direct argument against Homœopathy; but as showing that Homœopathic evidence is not free from the same causes of doubt and uncertainty, which appertain to other systems, and that, consequently, there is no ground for the congratulation which is indulged in, in its superior certainty.

What then, going back after this long digression to the main question in discussion, what is the evidence for the truth or success of Homœopathy? Exactly the same as that, which has been offered for the success of all other modes of treatment, both by regular and irregular physicians, from time immemorial. The evidence, in all cases, is offered with the same average amount of good faith; we are willing, for the purpose of the present argument, to put all on the same ground; those, who make the statements, believe them. They adduce, with entire confidence, individual cases, which have failed of relief from the common methods, cured by theirs; they assert, further, the general success of their practice; that diseases are cured more perfectly and more speedily, and that the proportion of death is much smaller in their practice, than in that of others.

Now such general and particular assertions, however honest those who make them may be, and however plausible they may be to those unacquainted with the fallacious character of diseases, are worth nothing at all, unsupported by farther and larger proof. When we say so, we judge all by the same rule; the same rule is applied by the regular physician. Men of talent, experience, and credit are constantly bringing forward new or reviving old methods, for which they offer this sort of evidence. No cautious physician would give his support to them on such evidence alone. In point of fact, the reëxamination of the vast majority of such pretensions, by whomsoever made, ends in their rejection. The whole history of practical medicine, as well as of practical quackery, is full of such pretensions, which have had their day, been subjected to the

necessary test, among others that of time, and have been rejected and forgotten. Both in and out of the profession, new plans of cure have been proposed, supported by the most astonishing accounts of success, and a temporary influence has been obtained for them. After a while it has been found that, on the whole, men died as fast and were sick as long under the new systems, as under the old ; the more sober-minded of the advocates of the new have, therefore, come back to their old friends, the regular physicians ; the others have gone to the next new thing.

We do not expect by this train of reasoning to affect the belief of him, who thinks he has personal experience of the benefits of Homœopathy or Thompsonianism. He, who has been relieved, while under the care of a practitioner of either of these schools, or who has seen a beloved object restored to health and life in an unexpected manner, cannot be expected to sit down and yield his convictions to a cool argument, upon the nature of evidence and the amount of probabilities. It is enough for him that he was sick and is well. His faith in Homœopathy is the same in kind and foundation, as those which the patients of regular physicians have in them. It is founded in feeling, and not in reason. We would not quarrel with it in either case. But when the difficulties of evidence on this subject are so great, as we have shown them to be, we can hardly think it just to make it a matter of reproach on the members of the profession, because they at once, in all such cases, take ground against the novelties proposed. It does not follow because they do this that they are illiberal, or narrow-minded, or governed by a sole regard to the interest of their craft. They do it from their experience, that such novelties, however supported, almost always turn out to be fallacies. They do it to novelties which arise among themselves, as well as those which do not. We admit that it is carried to excess. Few, who have lived long enough to remember the first proposition of the great discovery of the stethoscope, can forget the doubt, the hesitancy, and by some even the ridicule, with which it was received, and the pertinacity with which its adoption was opposed, even by many who are now constantly dependent upon it in their study of disease. This tendency among physicians is the conservative principle of their science ; carried to excess, in some it becomes an obstinate and perverse incredulity ; deficient in others, they are constantly hurried into visionary and impracticable schemes ; but in its

right degree and rightly applied, it is the touchstone of truth, and preserves from inundation by a flood of errors.

Homœopathy, then, presents no peculiar claims founded on its character, or the nature and amount of its evidences, to distinguish it from systems and modes of practice, which have made similar pretensions and have now ceased to exist. Still this is not decisive against its claims; and how can they be established, if proof of this nature be insufficient? It only remains, that it be submitted to the test of comparison in actual experiment, or else be left to the decision of that common sense of mankind, which, after an observation of the facts through a sufficient period, comes at last, in matters dependent on this kind of evidence, to conclusions of singular accuracy. The first, or actual experiment, has been alleged on both sides, and both have claimed the verdict, or denied the fairness of the trial. We may fairly consider them, therefore, as at least balancing each other. The judgment of the latter has been so far against Homœopathy. It has been in existence fifty years; and although extensively practised in many places, has not obtained a clear and decided advantage anywhere; and in some places, confidence in it is on the wane. Now, if there is really so great a superiority in the general results of Homœopathic practice, as is claimed for it, would society have been blind to the great fact? Were the difference in success small, we know it might be overlooked. But would it where the alleged difference is so great? If patients with scarlatina, for example, always recover, is it possible that such a fact, with regard to a disease so frequently fatal under other treatment, could have been kept in the dark for fifty years, even supposing the faculty base enough to desire it? On the other hand, would it not in fifty years have been made to stand out in as broad relief, as the efficacy of bark in intermittents, as vaccination for the small-pox?

But for the sake of embracing the consideration of the whole question, let us suppose it to be found that Homœopathic physicians are more successful in their practice, that they present a less number of deaths, that diseases are shortened, that symptoms are more speedily and perfectly alleviated, that the constitution and general health are left in a more favorable condition. Does it even then follow, that the infinitesimal doses of medicine have had this effect? Certainly not. So incredible is this, that we are bound to exhaust all other possible modes of expla-

nation before its validity can be admitted. And what other modes are there? There are several things which might contribute to their success. Much is due to the careful management of the Homœopathic practitioners, in regard to diet and regimen, and their rules in this particular they enforce with greater strictness, than is usually done by regular physicians. Besides this, in many cases of a certain description, where the state of the mind has a powerful effect on the physical condition of the patient, the confident promises of benefit, which the firm and exclusive faith of the Homœopathist in the powers of his medicines enables him to hold out, as the consequence of their administration, produces a degree of hope and even expectation, which the more limited faith of the common physician does not give him an opportunity of exciting. And if these explanations are not sufficient, we should be bound to admit, that the comparative efficacy of Homœopathic practice was owing to injurious effects, produced upon the sick by the regular physician; since we consider it far more probable, that the interference with the natural course of diseases, which takes place in their common treatment, does hurt, by interrupting the curative effects of nature, than that the infinitesimal doses should be capable of having any effect of any kind on the human body.

And in connexion with the expression of this opinion, we will allude briefly to a most extraordinary one held, if we understand them aright, by the Homœopathic physicians, and defended by the author of the "Popular Considerations," viz., that there is in the system no such principle, as that which has been always recognised by physicians of all sects, the *vis medicatrix nature*, or the principle by which nature tends to restore a part of the system, when injured or diseased, by its own powers and materials. We should have supposed the experience of any tolerably observant man of common sense would have rendered it impossible for any maker of systems, in whom we do not always expect to find this ingredient of character, to convince him of the non-existence of this principle. It seems almost childish to enter into an argument to prove that, which every man, who has cut his finger, or suffered a headache from over-eating, must feel to be true. But if there be no such restorative principle, why do any recover, who are sick and not treated at all, or not treated by the Homœopathic medicines? If there be no such principle, the slightest diseases ought to go on to the destruction of the organ and system, unless checked by rem-

edies. Now in point of fact, a very large proportion of the sick recover, let what will be done for them, little, nothing, or a great deal. The majority of cases run through a pretty definite course, not essentially varied by the interference of art. What can this be, except the influence of a principle implanted in the system, which always exerts itself to repair injury and restore from disease, when either of these conditions exist? Mr. Bryant attributes the apparent effect of such a principle to the influence of causes existing without, and modifying the actions of disease. It would not be difficult to show the utter inconsistency of his views with all our admitted knowledge of the relation of the body to the things about us. But for this we have no space; it is sufficient to observe that no influences from without can operate to the removal of disease, unless they act in correspondence with, and in relation to, some principle existing within. We might as well say that the principle, by which the body digests, assimilates, and appropriates nourishment for the formation and repair of the various organs, was an external one, because its materials are derived from without, and because external influences are capable of deranging, modifying, or even arresting it in its course.

It is chiefly to the influence of this sanative principle, that we are inclined to attribute most of the recovery from disease, which takes place under all modes of practice; and we believe that the effect of medicines, diet, &c., so far as they promote recovery, do it, with some exceptions, by falling in with, promoting, or removing obstacles to, the exercise of this principle. The recoveries of Homœopathy, therefore, we attribute to this cause; and if its practice be decidedly more successful than that of the regular system, it is because the medicines of this system interfere with the operation of the curative principle of nature, and prevent its due effect in the removal of disease; acting as poisons instead of remedies.

But suppose us to be driven, by adequate proofs, from this position also; suppose it to be proved that Homœopathy presents a larger amount of recoveries, than can be accounted for by the influence of the curative powers of nature, aided only by a well arranged diet and regimen, and by the influences of imagination and hope; then, indeed, it must be admitted, that the remedies of the Homœopathist, incredible as we have represented it, have a real efficacy, and we should be bound to admit his system to be true. In this case, far would it be from our disposition to oppose the promulgation of so desirable a

truth. We should hail with joy a system, which would take from sickness one of its greatest discomforts. Gladly would we see banished from the sick chamber the nauseous drugs, the offensive draughts, the pill, the powder, the potion, and all the painful and debilitating expedients of our present system, in favor of the mild and gentle measures of Homœopathy. But we fear no permanent reformation like this awaits the tenants of the sick bed. The burden of proof lies upon the Homœopaths, and long we fear will it be before it is likely to be removed. It is not too much to say, that not only have they made no approach to gathering the required evidence, but that no proper notion seems to exist among them that such evidence is necessary. And we must be permitted to say, that we regard this as a great reproach to them, as a body of professional men, as professed scientific observers, even simply as men of thought and reflection, that, with the essential incredibility of their system constantly before them, they exhibit no misgivings that the explanation of the success, which they believe themselves to meet with, may be what we have hinted. They investigate, they observe, they experiment, but they do it not in that spirit of free inquiry, which should ever characterize the members of a scientific profession; not with a mind open to the conviction of being in the wrong; they do it as if they were the masters, and not the servants of truth.

From this charge we would not undertake to say, that the members of the medical profession themselves are entirely free; and yet the spirit, by which their inquiries are now directed, is of a vastly higher character than has ever before animated them; and if they cannot be said, as yet, to have arrived at the truth upon the subjects to which they devote themselves, they are, at least, now on the right track. We think, however, that they are apt to look with too jealous an eye upon the inroads, constantly made upon their regular domains by those who set up new modes of practice, or new theories of disease. They are too anxious to put themselves in array against the quackery and imposture, which, they take it for granted, necessarily lie at the bottom of all such undertakings. We do not intend, of course, to refer to those wretched empirics, who make a trade of deluding the sick and credulous, by fictitious narratives of wonderful cures, and by retailing nostrums of which they know nothing and believe nothing; but we believe that the masters and disciples of the new systems of medicine, which rise from time to time, are sincere in their belief of the truth of their

doctrines and the efficacy of their remedies. We know of no reason to doubt that Hahnemann and his disciples are as honest as Brown or Broussais and theirs. We would extend the same remark to the Botanical school and their great apostle Samuel Thompson, who sincerely looks upon himself as a great reformer in medicine, and a great benefactor of mankind; and on the opposition which he encounters, as of the same character as that which obstructed the progress of truth, as discovered by Galileo, Copernicus, and Harvey.

Neither is it dignified to brand as fools those, whom we are willing to except from the charge of imposture, because they happen to hold opinions, which seem to us absurd and ridiculous. With the views of the laws of nature and of scientific evidence, which a man of science in modern times has, he can no more conceive of a belief in the efficacy of the decillionth of a grain of calomel, upon such sort of evidence as is now offered, than he can in that of the royal touch, or the weapon ointment. But is it just to take his state of mind, as the measure by which other minds should be judged, or even as a measure of truth itself?

We should look upon all the projects, to which reference has been made, in the light of experiments, which are making on a large scale, the result of which may be to test the truth of opinion on many of the important questions, which relate to the health of mankind. It is the duty of the members of the profession, as the best judges from their studies and habits, to stand by and see that the experiments are not made in vain. The followers of Brown made one of these great experiments on the influence, which excessive use of stimulants has upon the body in a state of disease. The disciples of Graham are engaged in determining what influence a certain mode of living will have upon human life and health. The Thompsonians and the Watsonians, on the one hand, seem to be commissioned to inquire, like some modern experimenters on living animals, what amount of violence to its natural condition the human body is capable of enduring, without being destroyed; whilst the Rain-water doctors and the Homœopathists, on the other, are engaged in a more agreeable and philosophical experiment, by which they are to show how far nature, without interference from art, may be trusted to carry the system, safely through disease to health. In this way, in other departments of human knowledge as well as medicine, thousands are doing the drudg-

ery of science, and gathering materials for its advancement. Blindly but perseveringly they do their great work in darkness ; as the insects of the coral reefs, while their purpose is simply to provide dwellings for themselves, are laying the foundations for islands and continents, on which nobler animals are to rear the habitations of man and the temples of God.

It is by such a process of experiment on a smaller scale, that obvious revolutions in medicine have been brought about. The change in modern practice to a less active interference with powerful and perturbing and debilitating agents, and a greater reliance upon the efforts of nature, is obvious to all, and is due to the gradual influence, which the observation of judicious men on the effects of remedies, as used in various ways by others as well as themselves, has had on their views of the powers of those remedies. What further changes may be wrought by the same process, it is impossible to foresee. The experiments are going on, and on an increasing scale, and we must stand by to avail ourselves of the results, though we dare not make them ourselves ; but where we shall land from this sea of uncertainty remains to be determined. It is impossible that a man of cautious and at the same time liberal spirit, should see around him such contradictory schemes of treating diseases, all claiming the same success, and proving that success by the same statements, without having moments of doubt and despondency. When he sees one practitioner plying his subjects with lobelia, capsicum, hot baths, and sweatings, for all diseases ; another for the same maladies, and with as little discrimination, boasting of drawing barrels of blood and administering pounds of calomel ; another confining his remedies to leeches and gum water ; another confiding formidable diseases to the decillionth of a grain of articles, of which a child might swallow many grains without appreciable effect ; it is difficult to resist the conclusion, that diseases are less obviously influenced, either for better or for worse, in the laws of their progress, by agents to whose effects they are subjected during their course, than mankind have generally supposed.

We mean to imply by this remark, not that remedies can produce no effects on disease, but that our power of producing such effects is much less than has been supposed. The medical profession have been reproached with the ill success, which has attended their long continued efforts for the discovery of

remedies. They confess the imperfect condition of their art. Urged by the natural desire of finding a more certain way, the sick and their friends seek out in every direction for those out of the profession, who at least promise more, and who create a livelier faith in their own power of relieving disease and averting death. The statement we have made would seem to show, that the search is found ineffectual; since of the new methods none survive long, and the physician in the main retains the confidence of mankind for one generation after another. We infer, therefore, that his success is upon the whole the greatest, and that the state of the medical art, though it may be a subject of regret, is not one of reproach. Its condition probably grows out of the necessary condition of humanity. The expectation that great discoveries can and will be made in medicine, by which diseases will be cured and life lengthened, assumes what is not proved, that the laws of life admit of the exertion of any great influence on the progress and termination of disease. The rate of human mortality, the length of life, and the length and severity of disease, when examined on a large scale, seem to be governed by very definite laws. And we have reason to believe that it is part of the intention of Providence, that we should not have it in our power, by direct interference, to make any great impression upon them. We are confirmed in the justness of this conclusion by the fact, now well established, that certain other causes, gradually operating on the system, do essentially modify the law of mortality, and the amount and severity of diseases. We refer to the influence of food, clothing, air, exercise, cleanliness, &c. on health and length of life. Now, since we can ascertain the effect of these agents with certainty, we have reason to believe, did the different modes of practice produce great and decided results, we should be as well able to detect these results.

Let us not be supposed by this statement to wish to throw doubt on the value or importance of the profession. Though the medical art may not vary the mortality of disease, or increase the average length of life, as much as we could hope, it does a vast deal by shortening the duration, alleviating the sufferings, and relieving the anxieties of sickness; and indirectly, by the knowledge of the laws and causes of disease which has been accumulated, it promotes both health and life, by improving the habits and modes of living of mankind. No one can witness the intense, zealous, and indefatigable spirit of investigation, which

now actuates the profession in every part of the world, and the laborious and benevolent efforts in which they are constantly engaged, without feeling for them a deep respect as a body of scientific men, and a sure reliance, that to their unwearied efforts in the cause will be finally awarded all that success in discovering the most successful methods of treating disease, which the nature of man renders possible.

J. W.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic. Translated, with Notes. By J. G. LOCKHART, Esq. A new Edition, revised. With an Introductory Essay on the Origin, Antiquity, Character, and Influence of the Ancient Ballads of Spain: and an Analytical Account, with Specimens, of the Romance of the Cid. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

THIS is the first American edition of a work, originally published many years since in England, and is reprinted from the second English edition, which is one of the most sumptuous specimens of book-making, which has ever proceeded from the London press. The American publisher, without attempting to reproduce the splendor of his prototype, has given us a volume which deserves emphatic commendation for its neatness, good taste, and every way respectable appearance. The literary merit of the work, we need hardly say to our readers, is of a very high order. It forms one of those rare cases, in which the original productions have gained, rather than lost, by being transmuted into a foreign tongue. Mr. Hallam, in his excellent work on the literature of Europe, remarks that the "Spanish ballads are known to our public, but generally with inconceivable advantage, by the very fine and animated translations of Mr. Lockhart." How far Mr. Lockhart has departed from the proper function of a translator, and assumed that of an imitator and paraphraser, how many of his versions are, strictly speaking, centoes, made up of two or three fragments with the chasms filled up by his own inventive genius, we are not sufficiently acquainted with the originals to be able to pronounce. From those better instructed than ourselves we learn, that he is justly obnoxious to some of these charges, which will be judged with more or less of severity, as the critic has more the love of the antiquary than the

taste of a scholar. Judging of them merely as poems, we profess our obligations to him for a volume of spirited and admirable poetry, rare in its kind and excellent in its quality. His own additions and embellishments, if any there be, are like Michael Angelo's restorations of the mutilated statues of antiquity, not to be distinguished from the original body. He does not deface the simplicity of the native ballad by the tawdry and affected phraseology of modern courts and drawingrooms. The ballads are fifty-three in number, embracing a considerable variety of character and subject, though mostly, as was to be expected, on themes of love and war. It is either the blast of the hero's trumpet, or the sound of the lover's lute that breathes through them. Many of them, and some of the best, are founded upon the life and fortunes of the Cid. The reader will trace some resemblances, but many points of contrast, between the ballads and those of England; and it would be an interesting subject to trace these effects to their sources in the difference in religion, political institutions, and climate between the two countries. The Southern muse is more impassioned, more melancholy, more dreamy, with greater depth of feeling and stronger religious sensibility; the Northern, more joyous, more frolicsome, with more of animal spirits and rough vigor. Where every poem is a gem it is hard to make selections; but we have been particularly pleased with the grace and spirit of "The Cid's Wedding," the picturesque vigor of "The Bull-fight of Gazul," the simplicity and truth of feeling of "Zara's Ear-ring," the descriptive richness and touching close of "The Bridal of Andalla," the plaintive beauty of "The Lamentations for Celin," and the overpowering pathos of "Count Alarcos and the Infanta Solisa."

The American edition, besides the contents of the English, contains an essay on the origin, character, antiquity, and influence of the ancient ballads of Spain, from the 14th No. of the Edinburgh Review, written apparently by one entirely master of the subject; an analytical account of the Romance of the Cid, with translated specimens from the Penny Magazine, and a Bibliographical list, prepared for this edition, of the books containing the original ballads, and of works pertaining to the subject.

The Cambridge Miscellany of Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy. Edited by BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A.M. No. I. James Munroe & Co.

It is a source of general satisfaction, that a magazine of this character has been started in Cambridge. There is, per-
VOL. XXXII. — 3D S. VOL. XIV. NO. II. 35

haps, no better sign of life, in any department of science, or letters, than the publishing of a good journal. But the sign cannot be given, if the public will not come generously forward with a hearty response. Prof. Peirce says, — "The observer, who withdraws from all society, in order to devote his nights to watching the stars, is enervated by his loss of sleep, and unfitted for the labors of the day. He cannot live two lives; and if he works while others sleep, he must sleep while others work. While he sustains science, science must sustain him." This is equally true in other directions. If the learned gentlemen at Cambridge are ready to undertake the labor involved in a publication like this, the labor is their full share of the business, the rest belongs to the public; and if they desire, and even require, — if we may take the language of some of our newspapers as good authority, — some such evidence of actual existence and industry from the Mathematical and Astronomical department, they must be ready with their subscriptions, and relieve the conductors of the journal, at least, of all anxiety on the score of expense. Instead of the seventy or eighty subscribers obtained after a six months' appeal, Boston alone (whether it read the book or not) for the sake of science should send in, at the fewest, five hundred names.

But the book will be read. A certain proportion of each number will probably be beyond the acquirements of all but a very few of the subscribers; but if future numbers shall be formed upon the model of the present, a fair proportion will also be generally interesting and instructive. The first half of the present Number is devoted to solutions of mathematical questions, and is of course Cimmerian darkness to nearly all who may chance to open the book; but the remaining half is, for the most part, within the grasp of any intelligent reader. The article on the distances of the fixed stars communicates astonishing results of observations made at European observatories. In an early Number of the Quarterly Review it was stated, that by the observations of Dr. Brinkley upon a particular star, the α Lyræ, its parallax had been found, and its distance consequently ascertained, which was given as twenty billions of miles. By Dr. Herschel the diameter of the same star was calculated, with no doubt some near approach to accuracy, — at least we should say so, were not the result almost beyond belief, — and found to be three thousand times greater than that of the sun! — A body, that is, which would spread out its solid mass to almost three-fourths the size of our solar system; and of the vastness of that extent a homely illustration of Ferguson conveys a lively idea, when he says, that a cannon ball, taking

its speed at the rate of nearly five hundred miles an hour, would be two centuries in travelling from the Sun to Saturn. Yet what is this, after all, to the single fact stated by the elder Herschel, that in a single field of his telescope he has counted eighty thousand stars, or, compared with what now appears to be an established part of sidereal astronomy, that our solar system, with all the visible heavens, constitutes but a single *nebula*, or group of worlds, bearing somewhat the proportion to what the largest telescopes reveal of the universe, that our solar system does to the rest of *our nebula*.

The star α Lyræ, mentioned above, has been since measured, Prof. Peirce says, by Struve, and found to correspond to a distance of 771,400 times the distance of the earth from the sun, which last distance is ninety-five millions of miles. This, he remarks, is the greatest distance that has ever been measured, and light would not travel it (going with the velocity of 192,500 miles in a second) in less than 12 years. Bessel, he tells us, has measured the distance of another star; and "from a series of observations, unparalleled in their accuracy, and in the success with which all instrumental errors have been eliminated, has determined the parallax of 61 Cygni to be 0'3482, corresponding to a distance of 592,200 times the earth's mean distance from the sun; and this distance would be travelled by light in about $9\frac{1}{2}$ years."

The other articles are on "American Astronomical and Magnetic Observers," "On Meteors," "On Varieties of Climate," "On the Barometer," by the Editor; "On the Internal Equilibrium and Motion of Bodies," an elaborate paper by Professor Lovering; and "On the Southern Continent," an article by Lieut. Davis, of the Navy.

A Course of Lectures on the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church, as Revealed in the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg; delivered in the City of New York during the Winter of 1840-41. By B. F. BARRETT, Pastor of the First Society of the New Jerusalem Church in New York. N. York: 1842.

THIS volume, we dare say, will prove a very useful work to those who either already receive, or are desirous to make an attempt upon the doctrines of Swedenborg. In his preface Mr. Barrett gives fair warning, that he shall use no delicacy in dealing with the opinions of those who differ from him, and cannot see their way clear to admit the claims of the divine

Baron. He keeps his word ; and we can by no means approve of his theological manners. Nor do we believe he would approve of ours, much as he likes and commends plain speaking, were we to make him our model in this respect. He would not take it well, we are sure, were we to charge him, for instance, with writing nonsense, and blasphemy, — nonsense, because we cannot understand what he writes, and blasphemy, because he attributes to a *man* divine power, upon the most frivolous occasions ; — and we intend to do neither the one nor the other. Yet he scruples not to ejaculate “Horrid Blasphemy!!” when speaking of the opinions of a living eminent writer concerning inspiration, — a writer not more remarkable for his power to illustrate Christianity by his genius, than for the power of Christianity over his own life ; and with whom the charge agrees as well as with Pascal, or Priestley. He should know better than to apply such language to any sincere utterance of theological opinion. As various as the mind is, will creeds be ; and nowhere can there be blasphemy, nor can it be charged, where there is an honest purpose.

Too many pages of the Examiner have already been devoted to the doctrine and the character of Swedenborg, to allow of any prolonged notice of the present volume.

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets. Designed principally for the use of Young Persons at School and College. By HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, M. A. Part I. Containing, I. General Introduction. II. Homer. Boston : James Munroe and Company. 1842.

It is to be deeply regretted that Mr. Coleridge has been prevented from completing his plan. An introduction to the other branches of Greek Literature, particularly the drama, written with the elegance and scholarly spirit shown in this little work, would be an invaluable addition to the critical literature of the English language.

Mr. Munroe deserves the thanks of the literary community, for republishing, in so neat a form, this most excellent little book. Some years since, it was printed in Philadelphia, but so printed as to discredit the character of the press of that city. Besides the general deformity of the volume, the correctness of the text was utterly disregarded. Many gross blunders were left uncorrected in the English ; but the Greek quotations from Homer were so disguised, that the critical acumen of a Böckh, the great reader and expounder of all illegible and unintelligi-

ble things in Greek, would have been overmatched in attempting to make out these passages. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to see so handsome and correct an edition, as this of Mr. Munroe's, of a favorite book, from an American press.

Mr. Coleridge's Introduction lays down the general principles of criticism, with great beauty of language and appropriateness of illustration. In the remainder of the book, he brings together, in lucid order, the results of modern inquiries upon the disputed Homeric Questions, and states them with judicial impartiality. He points out, in a style becoming the scholar, whose tastes have been unfolded by a loving study of the great ancients, the unapproachable beauties of the Homeric poems. The classic eloquence and temperate enthusiasm of his discourse cannot fail to attract the reader of Homer, and to awaken in his mind a new sense of the wonderful truth, variety, and vigor of sentiment, and of the copiousness, felicity, harmony, and graphic power of diction, which mark the song of the blind old man "who dwelt in rocky Chios."

We hope all American readers of Homer will study, in connexion with him, this little work. Not only school and college students, but the mature scholar will find delight and instruction in its pages.

Domestic Worship. By W. H. FURNESS, Pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Philadelphia. Second Edition. Philadelphia: James Kay & Brother. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1842.

THIS best book of devotional forms that has issued from our own denomination — we know none of a higher character in any — we are happy to greet in a new edition. It is handsomely printed, and, which in a work of this kind is very important, with a large type. We hope it is furnished at such a price as to place it easily within the reach of all, of even the humblest means, as no household should be without it.

Lecture on the Education of the Laboring Classes. By THEODORE PARKER.

WRITTEN with the usual ability and eloquence of the learned author. It is reprinted for wider circulation from the volume of lectures before the "Institutes of Education."

1. *Second Annual Report of the Directors of the Maine Insane Hospital.* December, 1841. Augusta: 1841.
2. *Insanity and Insane Asylums.* By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D. Louisville, Ky. 1841.

FROM the united reports contained in this pamphlet, — of the Directors to the Legislature, of the Treasurer, and of the Superintendent, Dr. Ray, we learn that the Maine Hospital for the Insane is in a very flourishing condition. The Report of the Superintendent is such a document as would be expected from that gentleman, in its literary character; and, as far as we are competent to judge, in its professional, also — full, as it seems to us, of the most valuable suggestions, set forth in a clear and popular form, on the philosophy of Insanity, and of its treatment. It is quite important to a right understanding of a subject, about which a good deal of superstition and erroneous notion still prevails, that such an essay should be widely distributed among the people. The State, in trust, sends abroad a large edition.

Mary Howitt's Juvenile Books. 7 vols. 18mo. James Munroe & Co. Boston: 1842.

MARY Howitt, we apprehend, will hereafter, and very long, rank as a classic with young readers, and we do no more than justice in noticing this first uniform edition of her tales. It is an edition worthy of the writer, and creditable to the publishers. The seven volumes are *Tales in Prose*, *Tales in Verse*, *Sketches of Natural History*, *Strive and Thrive*, *Hope on! Hope Ever! Sowing and Reaping*, *Who shall be Greatest?* The character of these is already known to most juvenile, and many older readers; for they are not designed for children alone. The last four are parts of the series still in process of publication, as "Tales for the People and their Children." To this series Mary Howitt has contributed more than any one, and has just added another, *Which is the Wiser?* which we hope will be added to this edition, especially as it is superior to some of its predecessors, if indeed, it be not the best of all.

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1. *Our National Legislature. A Discourse delivered before the First Parish in Cambridge, on the day of the Annual Fast, Thursday, April 7th, 1842.* By WILLIAM NEWELL, Pastor of the First Church in Cambridge. Cambridge: John Owen.
 2. *A Discourse on the State of the Country, delivered in the*

First Church in Medford, on the Annual Fast, April 7th, 1842. By CALER STETSON. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1842.

WE have received these excellent discourses at the last moment. We cannot speak of them in the terms they deserve; and can only record an expression of the great satisfaction with which we have hastily read them — satisfaction, especially, with the bold and manly tone in which each utters his honest convictions on the subject of great national evils. Mr. Newell finds his subject in the fallen character of our national Legislature; Mr. Stetson, in commercial embarrassments, a decline of public and private integrity, and the crowning sin and evil of slavery. From the last head of his discourse we take a few passages.

“These men, [the slaveholders of the South,] who seem to represent nothing but themselves and their ‘peculiar institutions,’— who are never heard to speak of anything as important, save ‘the interests of the South,’— have contrived to govern the country by the aid of Northern men, bound to them by party arrangements. They have enjoyed nearly all the important offices at the disposal of the government at home and abroad. Thirteen out of the last fifteen diplomatic appointments were given, I think, to slaveholders; and the greater part of the officers of the Navy are from the same class; though the whole South does not probably furnish seamen enough to man a single ship of war. In the General Government their influence has been put forth in a steady resistance to every measure, which seemed likely to promote the interests or reward the industry of free laborers.

“It is, I think, about thirty years since a true-hearted representative in Congress from this State, almost with a spirit of prophecy, spoke of the encroaching arrogance of these people, as nearly as I can remember, as follows. ‘If my constituents are destined to become hewers of wood and drawers of water to men, who know nothing about their interests and care nothing about them, I am free from the great transgression. * * * * If, in common with their countrymen, my children are hereafter to be slaves, to yoke in with negroes chained to the car of a Southern master, they shall at least have this consolation in their sufferings; they shall be able to say, “our father was innocent of these chains.”’* ”

“And these men, ‘who know nothing about our interests and care nothing about them,’ have to this day been suffered to go on encroaching upon our rights and interests to an extent, in comparison with which the oppressions of Great Britain, that drove our fathers to revolution and independence, were trifles of no moment. The natural right

* I quote from memory, from a speech of Josiah Quincy, in the House of Representatives of the United States, which I have not seen for more than twenty years.

of sending petitions to the government, — always enjoyed by the most abject slaves of oriental despotism, — is insolently denied. The foulest aspersions are cast upon those who present them; and our noblest representatives are impeached and censured for the rightful and constitutional expression of opinion. It is impossible not to see, in this domineering spirit, a determination to make the whole country subservient to the slaveholding power, — to make the press and the Post Office instruments of its domination, and to destroy whatever remains of the liberty of speech and action. If the people of these free States are mean-spirited enough to bear all this much longer, they deserve nothing better than to 'become hewers of wood and drawers of water to Southern masters.' " — pp. 17 - 19.

The Works of Charles Follen. 5 vols. Boston : Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1842.

WE are able, in the present number of our Journal, to do nothing more than announce the publication of these volumes, the memorial of an excellent and lamented man; and seize the opportunity of saluting their appearance with the following lines, which have just been handed to us by a friend.

THE CHURCH AT EAST LEXINGTON.

A SONNET.

THE FOLLEN CHURCH, — how beautiful it stands,
 Graceful and calm in that sequestered nook !
 How doth a blessing from its placid look
 Flow o'er the hamlet and its fertile lands !
 Fit Monument to him who placed it there ;
 Whose soul, all truth, benignity, and grace,
 Beamed forth, in benedictions from a face,
 Where might and sweetness met in union rare.
 Oh Life of Love, too early quenched in death !
 Yet, as that Fane, though crumbled to the ground,
 Would still survive in sacred influence round,
 So flows, and shall, from him a quickening breath.
 Death to the good man is but Life's extension ;
 Earth mourns his loss ; heaven joys in his ascension.

ERRATUM.

Page 156, Note, for 1840 read 1841.

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ART. I. — GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA.

THE English war with China is an object of interest to the civilized world, on political, commercial, and philanthropic grounds; on political grounds, because it brings into collision two of the mightiest nations of the earth, each almost equally ignorant of the other's resources; on commercial grounds, because while its immediate effect is to interrupt the friendly relations of other nations with China, its ultimate consequence probably will be to increase the already overgrown power and domineering ascendancy of England in the East, to the injury of the other maritime powers of Europe and America; and on philanthropic grounds, because war is in all cases and under all circumstances a sin against God and a curse to man, and because the state of war is a condition of international relations, the least likely to be productive of mutual benefit to two branches of the great human family, long alienated from each other by diversity of language, religion, and social organization. The recent defence of the English policy by an eminent American statesman gives the China war a local interest also. The respect due to this gentleman's learning and experience demands that his views should be calmly considered: the respect due to truth and humanity demands that they should be opposed.

Mr. Adams, an American citizen, defends the warlike policy of the British government; and this tends to show that the question is one, on which his judgment has not been determined or influenced by national predilections or antipathies. I cannot, however, concede to Mr. Adams freedom from another class of prejudices, which within their scope equally obscure the per-

VOL. XXXII. — 3D S. VOL. XIV. NO. III. 36

ception of the truth. There are some who cannot enlarge their sympathies beyond their own personal interests, while there are others who limit them to the families of which they are members, to the trade or profession which they practise, to the class with which they associate, to the sect with which they symbolize, to the nation of which they are citizens, or to the color by which they are distinguished. All of these last are improvements upon the unmitigated selfishness of the first ; but they are all only more or less enlarged forms of that same selfishness, and if we suppose a person of sufficiently comprehensive benevolence to be able to free his mind from them all, there is still another form of selfishness to which he is liable. When we pass beyond national distinctions, we find mankind divided into great generic families or races, each embracing two or more nations ; as, for instance, in Europe the Celtic, the Gothic, or the Slavonic family of nations, and in Asia the Arab, the Hindoo, or the Chinese race. Instead of saying that these races or families of nations exist in different stages of civilization, it would be more correct to say that they possess different types of civilization, which create for each a separate standard of excellence, and distinctive modes and forms and even principles of social intercourse. In a controverted case, to try any one of these races by the standard of another, for example, to try the Anglo-Saxon race, which is a subdivision of the Gothic, by the standard of the Arab, the Hindoo, or the Chinese race, or to try the Chinese race by the standard of the Anglo-Saxon, would be not only unfair to them, by subjecting them to a standard which they do not recognise, but to ourselves also, by confusing our judgment and introducing fallacy into all our reasonings. Yet this is what Mr. Adams has done ; and I offer this as a key to most of the mistakes and inconsistencies into which he has fallen. He has not permitted himself to be swayed in his judgment by national prejudice ; but he has been unable to rise superior to the prejudices of European and American civilization. He views these Orientals through the jaundiced eyes of an Occidental philosopher and jurist ; and of course every act of the Chinese government is discolored to his vision. It is not thus that impartial justice will be meted out to the two contending parties. To judge equitably, we are not called upon to abandon the principles and practices of our own peculiar form of civilization ; but neither must we seek to impose its laws upon a different family of the human race,

who are utterly unacquainted with its distinctions and provisions, and who have devised and adopted for themselves a different code of social law and commercial regulation, to which they do not claim to subject us beyond the limits of their own territory. If we would judge righteous judgment, we must look at the subject not as Americans or Europeans, but as men, divesting our minds of the prepossessions and idiosyncrasies derived from the peculiar type of civilization to which we belong; or if we cannot succeed in such an attempt, — if we find it impossible to ground our reasonings and reflections on the broad foundations of humanity, — if we will be, and cannot but be, not only men, but men glorying in the civilization of the nineteenth century, as it has been developed and matured in Europe and America, then it is indispensable that, by a strong effort of the reason and imagination combined, we should endeavor also to conceive how, under the given circumstances, a Chinese must feel, and think, and act, living under his peculiar form of civilization, and deriving all his prepossessions and idiosyncrasies, all his habits of feeling, thought, and action from its influence. In the course of this inquiry, it is important that we should bear in mind the temptation to which we are exposed, of taking a narrow and contracted view of the subject from the absence of sympathy with the Chinese and of a knowledge of their character and principles, and the consequent duty of exercising a calm, dispassionate, and judicial impartiality in forming and pronouncing an opinion. It is only thus that we may hope to do to others as we would that they should do to us.

There is another preliminary remark of a general bearing, to which I would solicit your attention, before approaching the details of the question. Apart from all consideration of causes and consequences, of provocations on the one side or of palliations on the other, what is the real character of the series of events we are considering? The first and most comprehensive description of them is that of a war between Great Britain and China. Now, war in its very nature, in its origin and results, is immoral, anti-social, sinful, and unchristian. It presents the spectacle of two nations angry with each other to the extent of blows, murder, rapine, and spoliation, involving the employment of a vast amount of labor and wealth, not to increase or extend human happiness, but solely as instruments of destruction; involving the destruction of another vast amount of wealth, the production of human labor and the

source and means of much human enjoyment ; and involving still further, not merely the misemployment of much labor and capital, and the annihilation of much useful wealth, but the destruction of the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of human beings who are not only innocent, but ignorant of the causes of the war, and who in its fell progress are sacrificed as its victims, with all the affections of human nature strong in their bosoms. This is characteristic of all war, and therefore of every war in particular. It has proved signally characteristic of the war with China, persons who have returned to England from the seat of hostilities, having described the havoc made among the Chinese, as resembling the undistinguishing slaughter of so many unresisting sheep ; and yet it is this frightful unloosing of the worst passions of our nature in their worst possible forms, that Mr. Adams calmly defends and justifies. But, again, the war, strictly speaking, is not a war with China : it is not a war between two nations in which each acts an equally hostile part. A second and more correct description of it is, that of a war carried on by England against China : in other words it is an offensive war on the part of England, and a defensive war on the part of China. This is the simple statement of a fact, without entering into the merits of the case ; for one of the striking effects of the Chinese system of policy is, that China has not left her own territory or waters for any purpose unfriendly to other powers, while it is notorious that England has sent armaments both from Europe and her Indian possessions to attack and invade, to slaughter and lay waste. In this, if in any case, the distinction is clearly to be recognised between an offensive and a defensive war ; and of the two, the former is certainly that which can be justified with the least show of reason or necessity. This is apparent from the state of the public sentiment regarding war throughout the Christian world, which would almost universally denounce an offensive war, while a defensive war would be regarded as an unavoidable evil ; and it is the extreme, most aggravated, and least justifiable form of this tremendous evil, of which Mr. Adams has undertaken the defence and vindication. Nor is this all. War involving so many and so great evils, this offensive war, exhibiting those evils in their most revolting and palpable aspect, is justified for the purpose of enforcing a peculiar theory and practice of commercial intercourse between nations, which professes to be based on the law of universal love, and on the duty

of loving our neighbor as ourselves. The law of love and the duty of brotherly kindness between man and man, and between nation and nation, are to be enforced, — a strange and anomalous adaptation of the means to the end, — and they are to be enforced by inflicting on a third of the human race the appalling calamity of war! One would think from this and other recent examples, that the statesmen and politicians of these our times, in Asia, in Europe, and in America, have combined by practical proofs and illustrations under their own hands to convince mankind with how small an amount of logic and of wisdom the world is, and has been governed.

These general views are necessary to a just estimate of the whole case, and of the real or alleged special causes of the war which we shall now proceed to consider; and in this part of the inquiry it is requisite carefully to distinguish between the reasons that have been assigned by the British government, and those alleged by the defender of its policy in this country, and also between the reasons that have actually influenced the two governments respectively.

I shall first examine the causes of the war alleged by Mr. Adams, because he professes to rest his argument in justification of it upon the natural rights of mankind and upon the fundamental principles of international law, as well as upon notorious facts.

He first lays down the general law that each nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others; certainly to its own happiness and perfection also; but to the happiness and perfection of others, in an equal degree, without any preference of its own interest, and without being the sole judge of what constitutes its own interest. As one of the means of fulfilling this obligation, he holds that commerce is among the natural rights and duties of men; and if of individuals, still more of communities. But the vital principle of commerce is reciprocity, and the duty of each party is to hold commercial intercourse with the other, not from exclusive or paramount consideration of his own interest, but from a joint and equal moral consideration of the interests of both.

In opposition to all this, the fundamental principle of the Chinese Empire is, according to Mr. Adams, anti-commercial. It admits no obligation to hold commercial intercourse with others. It utterly denies the equality of other nations with itself, and even their independence. Their own exclusive interest is the measure of all their relations with the rest of

mankind. Ambassadors of foreign powers are subjected to degrading and insulting forms, symbolical of the fundamental law of the Empire, prohibiting all official intercourse upon a footing of equality between the government of China and the government of any other nation. The foreign trade is confined to the single port of Canton ; but no foreigner is admitted within the walls of the city. Small factories for counting-houses are built on the banks of the river without the city ; but even to these foreign traders are not permitted to bring their wives and families. All their intercourse with the Provincial Government is carried on through the medium of a dozen Chinese traders, denominated the Hong merchants, through whom alone all their remonstrances against wrong or claims of right must be transmitted to the Government in the form of humble supplication ; and all must be content to receive the answers of the viceroy in the form of edicts, in which they, their sovereigns, and their nations are invariably styled outside barbarians.

After exhibiting the leading features of the churlish, unsocial, selfish, and anti-commercial system of the Chinese Empire, and enumerating the various contumelious practices towards foreign ambassadors and merchants, temporarily or permanently, officially or unofficially, resident within its limits, Mr. Adams exclaims with indignation, "It is time that this enormous outrage upon human nature and upon the first principles of the rights of nations should cease."—"The cause of the war is the pretension on the part of the Chinese that in all their intercourse with other nations, political or commercial, their superiority must be implicitly acknowledged and manifested in humiliating forms."—"This is the true, and I apprehend, the only question at issue between the governments and nations of Great Britain and China." In another passage, availing himself of the privilege of a rhetorician, he adopts the figure of speech, by which a part is made to stand for the whole, and describes that as the cause of the war, which is only an exemplification of the exclusive and insulting demeanor of the Chinese government. "Britain," he declares, "has the righteous cause." . . . "The cause of the war is the *Kotou*!—the arrogant and insupportable pretension of China, that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal." Again, referring to the proceedings of Lord Napier and his as-

sociates, he says, "You have . . . the primitive and efficient cause of the present war between Great Britain and China," . . . "in the attempt to execute two points of the instructions to the Superintendents, 1. that the chief superintendent should announce his arrival at Canton by letter," instead of petition, "to the viceroy; and the other, that the superintendents should take up their residence at Canton."

Such is a brief, and I believe a correct, summary of Mr. Adams's views and arguments. Let us endeavor to estimate their value as a defence of the policy of Great Britain, and a justification of the offensive war which she is waging against China; and in doing so, it may be useful to discriminate between the principles which it is his aim to establish, and the facts which he has adduced in their support.

Let us first assume that the principles are sound, and the facts indisputable. Let it be admitted that the Chinese systematically outrage the rights of human nature and the first principles of the rights of nations, by adopting anti-commercial regulations and imposing insulting and degrading conditions of political intercourse. Does it follow that foreign nations have the right to coerce them into a recognition of the rights of nature and nations? Some doubt of this right is suggested by the fact that Mr. Adams is, I believe, the first expositor of public law who has contended for its existence. He has certainly not quoted any authority in its support; and he distinctly admits that Vattel, the chief authority he does quote, refers to the alleged exclusive policy of the Chinese, "without affixing any note of censure upon it." This doubt is confirmed by an additional fact which Mr. Adams has himself adduced, embracing a case in point which in the opinion of every American must be entirely subversive of the alleged right, although Mr. Adams has not perceived its application to such a purpose. Repudiating the absurd claim of omnipotence for the British Parliament, he appeals to the self-evident, inalienable rights of all men by the laws of nature and of nature's God recognised in the Declaration of Independence. "This," he exclaims, "is the only omnipotence to which we bow the knee." But do the people and government of the United States bow the knee even to this authority? Mr. Adams answers this question in the negative, although with a remarkable charmness of language, compared with that which he employs respecting the Chinese. "The practical organization of our social system is

not altogether consistent with our theory of the law of nature and of nature's God, which has given to all men the inalienable right to liberty. The existence of slavery is incompatible with the law of nature." Here then are two nations, both of which confessedly violate the laws of nature and of nature's God and the inalienable rights of mankind. Mr. Adams invests foreign nations with the right to compel the Chinese to observe the natural laws which they violate; but we hear nothing from him of the right of foreign nations to compel the people and government of these United States to observe the natural laws which, it is acknowledged, they also transgress. Let any public writer or speaker deliberately defend the right of England by the law of nature and of nations to compel Americans to put an end to slavery, and the universal shout of derision and execration with which such a proposition will be received, will afford the means of estimating the reasonableness and justice of the same doctrine, when sought to be applied to China *in pari materia*. Every American, even the staunchest abolitionist, would exclaim that slavery, however incompatible with the laws of nature and the inalienable rights of man, is a municipal institution, and if abolished, *as it ought to be* and *MUST BE*, should be abolished by the fiat of the nation in which the institution exists; and in like manner the Chinese will tell you that their rules for commercial and political intercourse with foreigners, however vexatious and derogatory to the pride and self-importance of those who voluntarily come within their jurisdiction, are part and parcel of the municipal laws and peculiar institutions of China, of which they themselves are the sole judges, independent of all foreign interference and dictation. Is it not evident that Mr. Adams subjects the Chinese to a rule, which, if applied to himself and the nation to which he belongs, he and they would regard with the severest reprobation and resent as the bitterest of national insults?

We turn now to another aspect of this anomalous argument. Are the Chinese amenable to the law, which it is sought to enforce against them? It is a curious circumstance that Mr. Adams himself has furnished the amplest admission that they are not amenable to it, and that consequently the whole of his argument rests on a false foundation. He explains that "by the law of nations is to be understood, not one code of laws binding alike upon all the nations of the earth, but a system of rules, varying according to the character and condition of the

parties concerned." He then enumerates the various modifications of the law of nations, the necessary, the voluntary, the conventional, and the customary law of nations; the Christian and non-Christian, the Protestant and Catholic law of nations; the law of nations for the regulation of intercourse with the Indian tribes of the American continent; the law of nations between us and the nations of Africa; another with the Barbary powers and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire; another with the inhabitants of the isles of the sea; and lastly a law of nations with the Chinese Empire. He then says, what is worthy of your special notice in relation to this inquiry, that "the law of nations by which the right and wrong of the present contest is to be tried is, as between the parties themselves, the general and necessary law of nations; but as it may affect the other Christian nations whose rights are involved in the issue, it is the Christian law of nations which must furnish the principles for discussion. It may be necessary," he adds, "to remember this distinction." The law applicable to intercourse with the Chinese Empire is thus identified with the general or necessary law of nations, and distinguished from the Christian law of nations. The latter recognises the truth of Christianity and the obligations of Christian morality, and is necessarily in force only among Christian nations: the former consists in the application of the law of nature to nations, is founded not on any special revelation, but on the nature of things, and in particular on the nature of man, and is obligatory on all men, under whatever relation they act, whether as individuals or as states and governments. Against which of these laws are the Chinese accused of offending? They are accused of adopting a churlish, unsocial, selfish, and anti-commercial system of policy. Against which of these laws does such a system offend? Mr. Adams expressly states that "the moral obligation of commercial intercourse between nations is founded entirely, exclusively, upon the Christian precept to 'love your neighbor as yourself;'" and he ranks commerce among the natural rights and duties of man, because the Christian precept to love our neighbor as ourselves, emphatically enjoins us to contribute as much as is in our power to one another's happiness; and in his view "there is no other way by which men can contribute so much to the comfort and wellbeing of one another as by commerce or mutual exchange of equivalents." The unsocial and anti-commercial system of the Chinese is then a violation of the

requirements of the Christian law of nations. It is for that violation that they are arraigned at the bar of the civilized world, and it is to compel obedience to that law that the waging of war against them is justified. And yet Mr. Adams again and again admits in a variety of forms that, China not being a Christian nation, its inhabitants do not consider themselves bound by the Christian precept to love their neighbor as themselves; that no Christian nation can appeal to the principles of a common faith to settle the question of right and wrong between them; and he requests us specially to remember the distinction between the necessary and the Christian law of nations, since it is by the former only, and not by the latter, that the right and wrong of the present contest, as between the parties themselves, is to be tried. Unfortunately he himself has forgotten this distinction when it should most have been remembered, and the omission has not merely had the effect of involving him in inextricable self-contradictions, but has placed him in the painful position of defending an unjust war on Christian grounds, and of stigmatizing an innocent people for disobedience to a law of which they are ignorant and to which they cannot be held amenable. "What things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law." The palpable inconsistencies into which he has thus fallen, are significantly aggravated by the contrast to which I have already had occasion to advert, on the one hand between the benign spirit of the Christian religion which he eulogizes and the beneficent tendency of the precept which constitutes the foundation of his reasoning, and on the other, the demoralizing and pernicious conclusion which on their authority he seeks to enforce against the Chinese.

Let us take another view of the principles involved in this question. When a public writer or speaker of acknowledged high talent advances an apparent inconsistency, we must not too hastily conclude that the inconsistency is real. There may be two ways of explaining it; either, first, by the supposition that he has not sufficiently weighed the force of his own arguments and has confounded things that differ; or, secondly, by the supposition that we have inadequately appreciated the bearing of his reasonings and have accused him of self-contradiction, when in fact the confusion exists in our own understanding. In the present instance, Mr. Adams may say, and say truly, "You have misapprehended my meaning. Whatever the careless-

ness or inaccuracy of my language, I disclaim the intention of trying the Chinese by the Christian religion in which they do not believe, by the Christian system of morality and by the Christian law of nations of which they do not acknowledge the obligation. I adhere to the principle which I have distinctly announced and from which I have never desired to depart, that 'as between the parties themselves the general and necessary law of nations is that, by which the right and wrong of the present contest is to be tried.'" Mr. Adams has a right to take this ground, and we are bound to recognise the right. Let us see then what are the requirements of the law which Mr. Adams calls the general or necessary law of nations and which is sometimes also called the internal or natural law of nations.

The first point to be noticed in this view of the case is that Mr. Adams is not contented with the common, established, and most authoritative expositions of the necessary law of nations, but frames a necessary law of nations of his own by which he tries the commercial and political regulations of the Chinese Empire. "There are," he says, "three principles of the law of nature applied to nations laid down in the preliminary chapter to Vattel's treatise, a close attention to which is indispensably necessary to the adjustment of the question of right and wrong, in this issue of facts between the British and Chinese governments;" and he forthwith proceeds to call all these three principles in question. He questions the first in terms, for he declares that it contains a fallacy; and he questions the second and third by implication, for he states that the anti-commercial policy of the Chinese Empire against which he protests, is founded upon them to the exclusion of the first. Perhaps, however, instead of saying that he questions all these principles, it would be more correct to say that he qualifies them; that he extends one principle and restricts another, until the necessary law of nations, as modified by John Quincy Adams, becomes a totally different thing from the necessary law of nations, as expounded by Vattel. But surely if the question of peace or war, of the justice or injustice of the war waged by England against China, is to be determined by a reference to the principles of the necessary law of nations, then those principles must not be principles of private interpretation and individual authority, produced for the occasion, and destined to perish with the breath that has evoked them, but principles of natural and universal obligation, recognised and sustained by the con-

sent of the civilized world. The very necessity under which Mr. Adams has felt himself placed, in making out a case against the Chinese, of disputing the principles to which he appeals with the authority which he himself cites, and of establishing new principles to be now for the first time applied, shows that the necessary law of nations, as generally understood, is even in his judgment inconsistent with the warlike policy which he defends.

What then are the new principles which he proposes to introduce into the necessary law of nations, and apply to the decision of the present question? Vattel lays it down "that each nation ought to contribute all in its power to the happiness and perfection of others;" but he qualifies this general law by adding, that "the duty towards ourselves having incontestably the advantage over our duty with respect to others, a nation ought in the first place, preferably to all other considerations, to do whatever it can to promote its own happiness and perfection." Mr. Adams holds only to the general law, and refuses to admit the qualification which he declares a fallacy. "The first and vital principle of Christian morality," he says, "is to love your neighbor as yourself; to do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. It does not permit you to promote your own happiness and perfection, in preference to all other considerations. It makes your neighbor's happiness, so far as your action is concerned, a part of your own. It does not permit you to sacrifice his happiness to yours, any more than yours to his." This is undoubtedly one of the sublimest and most humanizing principles of morality, and I cordially join in advocating it; but then it is a principle which I derive, and which Mr. Adams avowedly derives, from the Christian religion, which the law of nature does not teach, which is not and has never before been embodied in the necessary law of nations, and which, if it were embodied in that law, cannot from its very nature be enforced against any recusant government, such as the Chinese is assumed to be. We have here then a new principle proposed to be introduced into the necessary law of nations, a principle deduced from the Christian religion, to which the law of nature is a stranger, and that principle which, if it were sincerely and generally observed, would put an end to all war, is brought forward to justify violence and bloodshed! to justify a war waged, according to Mr. Adams, to enforce its own benign and philanthropic requi-

sitions! It is perhaps scarcely worth while to add that Mr. Adams has distinctly admitted as a truth the qualification of Vattel's first general law which we have seen that he also condemns as a fallacy. Speaking his own sentiments and not professing to quote from any other author, "By the law of nature," he says, "every man, though he love his neighbor as himself, must provide for his own preservation and that of his family, before he can minister to the wants of his neighbor." What is this but that preference of ourselves to others which he elsewhere denounces as inconsistent with the Christian precept?

Another new principle which Mr. Adams would introduce into the necessary law of nations is that nations are not permitted to be the exclusive judges of their own interests, nor to be guided solely by their own interest in regulating their commerce with other nations. He regards the commercial intercourse of one nation with another as a duty, and as consequently conferring a correlative right. This duty is laid down in terms sufficiently positive by Vattel, but that author afterwards qualifies it by a restriction which, in Mr. Adams's opinion, unless itself restricted, annuls it altogether. Vattel says that although the general duty of commercial intercourse is incumbent upon nations, yet every nation may exclude any particular branch or article of trade which it may deem injurious to its own interest. This, says Mr. Adams, cannot be denied. But then a nation may multiply these particular exclusions until they become general and equivalent to a total interdict of commerce; and this, Mr. Adams adds, is manifestly incompatible with the position which he had previously laid down that commercial intercourse between nations is a moral obligation incumbent upon them all. His doctrine then appears to be that particular articles or branches of trade may be excluded, but that the exclusion must not be universal; and that in interdicting any particular traffic, the prohibition must proceed not from the exclusive or paramount consideration of the interest of the interdicting nation, but because the traffic no longer fulfils the condition of equal and mutual benefit which makes commercial intercourse a duty.

This is in fact another form of the attempt to embody the comprehensive law of Christian benevolence in the natural law of nations, for the regulation of commercial intercourse; but before this modification of the law of nations is made the

ground of a war with China, let it be known that we conform our own conduct to it. No private individual amongst ourselves trades or exchanges equivalents for the benefit of others; but each is left to look for and to find his own interest in the exchange, without being accused of a dereliction of duty because he does not attend to the interest of his neighbor. If the conventionality or voluntary character of commerce, the right of each party absolutely and universally to accept or refuse its interchanges, is contrary to sound principle, then is the trade between man and man on a wrong foundation throughout the world; for that is the sole principle on which the interchange of commodities between private individuals is conducted. Not only is it the principle between private individuals, but it is universally adopted in the commercial intercourse of nations. Is it for England, the author of the starving corn laws, is it for these United States which are about to reenact an anti-commercial tariff, to assume different ground with the Chinese or to claim greater advantages than they shall please to grant? But is the principle wrong? Is the conventionality of commerce an evil? Is it not rather one of the inalienable characteristics of personal freedom,—one of the indispensable attributes and conditions of national independence? If we abandon this principle, must we not in lieu of it proclaim the law of the strong against the weak, of might against right? And is not this the law that has been practically proclaimed and enforced against China?

I might go on to show by numerous quotations from Vattel that Mr. Adams has not only concocted a new law of nations *pro hac vice*, but that the principles he has labored to establish are utterly and diametrically opposed to the plainest deductions from that law, as expounded by the authority to which he has himself appealed. Instead, however, of pursuing this branch of the subject, it will be more instructive to consider how far the facts involved in the controversy are correctly stated, and how far just inferences have been deduced from acknowledged facts. The facts in question are divisible into two classes, those which have a commercial, and those which have a political bearing.

The anti-commercial policy of the Chinese Empire is a leading allegation in this argument, but the policy of the Chinese Empire is *not* anti-commercial to the extent that has been described. The Chinese are not deficient in mercantile enterprise, and within certain limits its developments

are not discouraged by their government. They have an extensive inland and coasting trade. They trade by land with Russia, with Thibet, with Nipal, with Bhutan, with Burmah. They trade by sea with Japan, with Cochin-China, with Siam, with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, with Netherlands India, with the British settlements in the straits of Malacca, and with British India. I have myself seen Chinese Junks or trading vessels in the port of Calcutta. This is true of the nation of which it is affirmed that a total interdict of commerce has been, time out of mind, its inflexible policy; and upon this alleged fact is built a theory of public law which shall justify us in compelling them to trade with us against their will.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the foreign trade with China is shackled by many objectionable regulations; but it is wholly overlooked that several of these find parallels in the regulations of European commerce. The limitation of the foreign trade to the port of Canton is one of these; but at the present moment the number of British ports into which East India goods can be imported, is limited to five or six, formerly to two, London and Liverpool, and more anciently to London alone, which was then the British Canton. The carrying on of the foreign intercourse of a commercial nature with the subordinate Government of the Canton Province through the medium of twelve Chinese traders denominated the Hong merchants, is another ground of complaint; but this is merely a mercantile monopoly, and unfortunately mercantile monopolies are not peculiar to China. If there is a Chinese East India Company enjoying a monopoly of the foreign trade of the Empire, there are or have been English East India Companies, a Dutch East India Company, an Ostend East India Company, and other similar exemplifications of the wisdom of governments in shackling the commerce of the nations they rule. Another matter of offence is that the form of representation to be employed by foreign traders in addressing the Chinese authorities, is that of humble supplication or petition; but the form of petition is surely not alien either to British or American custom, and in this country it seems doubtful whether the sovereign people have the right even of petitioning their own chosen representatives and paid servants. Yet forsooth it is made a cause of war, that foreign traders, if they have any favor to ask, or any right to claim from the Chinese Government, must seek

it by petition and not by letter. This regulation is literally and gravely adduced as the primitive and efficient cause of the war, while at the same time it is admitted to be one of the vital and fundamental laws of the Chinese Empire. What right have any foreign traders to expect, what right has any foreign nation to demand at the point of the bayonet, that one of the vital and fundamental laws of a great Empire should be annulled to suit their caprice or convenience?

There are some sufficiently absurd regulations and insulting practices to which I do not know that any counterpart can be found in the regulations of European governments, such as the refusal to admit foreign traders within the walls of the city of Canton, the exclusion of women from the foreign factories, and the degrading epithets applied to foreigners. What then? Must we go to war to teach a nation good manners, or to unteach it its absurdities? On the other hand, the Chinese government has commercial regulations which are in eminently favorable contrast with those of European governments. From a regard to the physical and moral welfare of its own subjects, it prohibits both the culture of the poppy in China and the import of opium from abroad, while both the American and English governments derive a revenue from the import of spirituous liquors, and the British government of India employs all its vast powers and resources to extend the cultivation of the poppy in India to the neglect of more useful products, and for the sake of revenue to encourage the smuggling of opium into China. The Canton government, again, when there is a pressure on the means of subsistence amid the vast population of that province, has frequently invited the import of rice free of duty. What a comment is this from a heathen nation upon the corn laws of Christian England!

But however invidious the restrictions on commerce in China and the contumelies inflicted on foreign traders, they must be regarded as the legitimate safeguards of a nation, justly jealous of its own independence and watchful against foreign intrusion. Mr. Adams admits that the Portuguese were, in the first instance, allowed to trade for several years at various ports, and that it was through their abuse of this privilege they were subsequently excluded: this free trade was permitted before the Portuguese had rendered any service to the Empire, which Mr. Adams assigns as a reason for the greater privileges that nation has enjoyed and for the cession to them of the island of Macao.

It is notorious also that the English, who never rendered any service to the Empire, originally traded at Amoy and other ports besides Canton. European trade and European persons were first admitted into China with great freedom, and it is only after experiencing the pernicious effects of the political proselytism of the Jesuits in China, and witnessing the commercial conquests and encroaching ambition of the English in India, that they have limited the foreign trade to one port and imposed other galling restrictions. Who will say, with their own experience for a guide and India before them for a warning, that their fears are groundless?

This is one of the political facts having a direct bearing on the subject, to which Mr. Adams has made not the remotest allusion, although it furnishes at once an explanation and justification of their jealous and exclusive policy. His political vision sees nothing but the ridiculous pretension of the Chinese to superiority over the rest of mankind, to which, with exaggerated indignation, he is astonished that not only the proudest monarchs of Europe, but the most spirited, enlightened, and valorous nations of Christendom have submitted. But what is this pretension but another form of the national vanity with which under different manifestations we are all so familiar? The English, the French, the Germans, the Americans, are all and each in their own opinions the most thinking, the bravest, the wisest, or the freest people in the world; and if the Chinese exhibit this national characteristic in a more obtrusive and offensive shape than we do, yet, as in other cases "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," the fellow feeling should, in this case, at least prevent us from waging or justifying a war against them, merely because they are a little more self-conceited and vain-glorious than we are ourselves. It is surely not for such a cause that the peace of the world should be disturbed, and its disturbance justified by a Christian philosopher and a grave statesman and jurist. After all, however, it must be remembered that however insufferable the egotism of the Chinese, it has all the naturalness, simplicity, and force of a genuine feeling and of a perfectly honest conviction. They do not seek to convince others by any labored demonstration, nor are they angry with others for not admitting their pretensions. Their pretensions have never come into collision with the self-importance of European nations, until the representatives of these nations stand on Chinese ground and ask com-

mercial favors, or seek to establish political connexions. Then and then only Macartney is cajoled into the performance of a *quasi* Kotou, and an Amherst is expelled with ignominy from the flowery land, because he would not knock under.

I have thus, assuming Mr. Adams's facts, shown that his principles cannot be maintained or applied to the present case; and admitting his principles, I have further shown that he has drawn on his imagination for his facts, and has deduced from admitted facts conclusions which they will not sustain.

He has committed the cardinal mistake of confounding rights and duties of perfect and imperfect obligation, a distinction fully recognised by Vattel and Paley and other writers on public law and morals. Perfect rights and duties are such as can be enforced by positive sanctions; imperfect, such as cannot. Of the latter description is the duty of children to their parents, which is enjoined equally by the law of nature and of God, but the neglect of which cannot be punished by human law. Why it cannot be punished by human law, I do not find that moralists have distinctly stated; but the obvious reason is that love cannot be enforced: it must be free, willing, and spontaneous or it ceases to exist. In like manner the law of universal love, the loving our neighbors as ourselves, on which Mr. Adams builds the obligation of commercial intercourse between nations, is a duty that from its very nature cannot be enforced, nor its neglect punished. In the case of two nations, of which the one desires commercial intercourse with the other, which the latter is willing to grant only on obnoxious conditions, the only alternative is to decline the trade or to submit to the conditions, just as if the case were between two individuals. This resolves the whole matter, and leaves it without a shadow of difficulty. It establishes the law of Christian benevolence, recognises the freedom and independence of nations, removes all pretext for war on commercial grounds, and prevents violence and the justification of violence in any form. There is one other remedy besides war, and that is a peaceful withdrawal from degrading intercourse. We have no right to force our commerce upon a nation, under conditions which they will not recognise, any more than they have to impose conditions on us, which are offensive to our honor and self-respect. Rights are equal; and when there is such a wide difference, mutual avoidance is the only course that can be justly and honorably pursued.

We have hitherto considered only the reasons assigned for the war between Great Britain and China, by the American defender of the British policy. Those reasons have been weighed in the scale of national rights, of international law, and of Christian morality ; they have been compared with known and admitted facts, and in every respect they have been found wanting. They will not bear the scrutiny to which they have been subjected, and must be regarded as the crude speculations of an originally vigorous but eccentric mind which does not shrink from grappling with any subject, but which sometimes passes beyond its proper orbit and touches questions that elude its hasty grasp. We have now to inquire into the causes of the war alleged by the belligerent powers, and the probable reasons that have influenced both in the course of policy which they have respectively pursued.

In this view of the case, our attention is first drawn to the fact, that the English do not rest the vindication of their policy on any of the grounds indicated by Mr. Adams. They do not appeal to the law of nature and of nature's God, and to the first principles of the rights of nations. They do not quote any precept of the code of Christian morals, and, upon the authority of a religion with which the Chinese are unacquainted, claim a right to commercial intercourse which they withhold. They do not claim the right to prescribe to that people the regulation of their municipal concerns, or the nature and extent of the political and commercial intercourse which they shall hold with foreigners. They do not complain of the supercilious demeanor of the Chinese towards foreign governments, of the humiliation of performing the Kotou before the Emperor or of petitioning the provincial authorities, of the limitation of the foreign trade to Canton or of the interdiction of the opium traffic, of the exclusion of foreign trade from the city of Canton or of women from the foreign factories, or lastly, of the opprobrious or contemptuous language applied to foreigners in Chinese edicts. The English, especially in their public affairs, are essentially a practical people, and look more to things than to words and forms. Of all the nations in the world, they are the least entitled, and I should hope, the least disposed, to appeal either to the law or the gospel, the law of nations or the gospel of Christ, as the standard of their requisitions from the Chinese ; for, in pursuing their Eastern career, none have more daringly, more systematically, or more successfully, trampled upon both. To describe them as acting

from such enlarged, philanthropic, and Christian principles, is to assign to them a merit which they do not claim; or rather it is to accuse them of a degree of hypocrisy with which I do not find that they are justly chargeable. There are indeed scarcely any limits to the inconsistencies of which nations even more than individuals will be guilty; but let us not make things worse than they are. They do not pretend to conquer and govern India for the good of the natives of that country. They do not pretend to seek the commerce of China for the mutual and equal benefit of the English and Chinese. They have strictly national, that is, selfish objects; they seek to promote strictly national interests, to vindicate national honor, and avenge national wrongs; and they leave it to others to base their policy on the high and generous motives, which, with an amusing Utopianism, have been gratuitously ascribed to them by an aged and practical politician. Nowhere will such motives appear more incredible and preposterous than in India where the Eastern policy of England is best understood and appreciated.

When we inquire into the causes of the war assigned by the British government itself, we experience the want of a formal declaration of hostilities, which, according to the law of nations, is an indispensable preliminary. Grotius says, "that according to the law of nations, two things are required to make a war solemn or in due form; 1st, that on both sides it should be by authority of the sovereign; 2dly, that it should be accompanied with certain formalities. These formalities consist in the demand of a just satisfaction, and in a declaration of war at least on the part of him who attacks, defensive war requiring no declaration." This formal declaration is required, for the information of the state against which it is made; and it is also necessary for a nation to publish the declaration of war, for the instruction and direction of its own subjects; but it is still further required by the laws of nations to make known the declaration of war to neutral powers, for the purpose of acquainting them with the justificative reasons which warrant, and the cause which obliges, the nation in question to take arms. I notice the absence of this important declaration, because it is pronounced necessary by writers on the law of nations, and because so much stress has been laid by the defender of the war on an observance of the requisitions of that law. If that law is to be the rule, it should be the rule not for one party only, but for both parties. Failing this authoritative document,

declaratory of the causes of the war and the motives of the invading party, we must have recourse to the unauthenticated, but, it is believed, correctly reported explanations of Her Majesty's Ministers in Parliament, and to the Proclamations issued by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries in China. With regard to the latter, it is to be remarked, that those issued at the commencement of hostilities possess a peculiar and unusual character, professing to distinguish between the people and government of China, and still further between the Imperial government and the Provincial government of Canton. The English announce that they have come with purposes of peace towards the people of China, whom they exhort to separate themselves from the injurious proceedings of their rulers, promising them in that case safety and protection. They further announce that they have not come with purposes of hostility towards the Imperial government, but only desire to submit to the Emperor for redress their complaints against the injustice and insults of the Provincial government, whose conduct alone has produced the necessity for the demonstrations about to take place. This proclamation is almost immediately followed by the seizure and occupation of the island of Chusan, accompanied by the resistance and consequent slaughter of many of the inhabitants. It is vain to attempt to lay down moral rules for the regulation of the conduct of enemies towards each other in a state of war, mutual enmity and war being in themselves radically and practically immoral and irreligious. It would be as reasonable to prescribe moral rules for the perpetration of any of the crimes which the more general consent of mankind has denounced, such as murder, rape, robbery, and arson. I disclaim, therefore, all such intention; but those who appeal to the sword may be tried by the rules which they themselves lay down; and it is certainly deemed among the least honorable of the devices of war, to attempt by active means to seduce subjects to betray their country. This is what is done in the British proclamation, in which the people of China, while their country is invaded, are invited to remain neutral, or rather to coöperate with the invaders. What right has a foreign and hostile government to assume that the people of China have interests and sympathies distinct from those of their government, or that the conduct of the Provincial government is not sustained by the Imperial government from which it derives all its powers? To attack a government is to attack the people who live freely and voluntarily under its authority; and to attack a

subordinate government is to attack the supreme government to which it is subject ; and any proceeding founded on a different assumption is incompatible not only, as Vattel states, with the laws of a pure conscience, but with the recognised and legitimate modes of warfare. This proceeding involves a still more direct violation of the provisions of international law applicable to the state of war. Vattel states that "if he, who enters a country with an army kept in strict discipline, declares to the inhabitants that he does not come as an enemy, that he will commit no violence, and will acquaint the sovereign with the cause of his coming, the inhabitants are not to attack him ; and should they offer at any such thing, he has a right to chastise them. But he is not to be admitted into any fortresses, nor can he properly demand entrance." It is clear from this that the peaceful intentions avowed by the English and their simultaneous forcible occupation of Chusan are inconsistent with each other and with the law of nations applied to belligerents ; and I repeat that it is proper to adduce these violations of that law, because its principles have been expressly appealed to as the standard and justification of their measures.

We have still, however, to seek for the causes of the war assigned by the government of Great Britain ; and these may be briefly stated to be insults offered to its dignity, and losses inflicted on its subjects, for which it demands reparation and indemnification. The losses were those occasioned by the destruction of opium belonging to British merchants, amounting in value to about ten millions of dollars, and the insults consisted in detaining as prisoners at Canton the whole body of British merchants, with the British superintendent of trade who had voluntarily come from Macao and joined his countrymen in their difficulties, and subjecting them to various severities, indignities, and threats, with a view to compel them to surrender the opium in question for the express purpose of being destroyed. There is no doubt of the main facts embraced in these allegations. The opium did belong to British merchants ; their persons and that of the superintendent of trade were forcibly detained for the purpose of extorting the surrender of the opium ; and when surrendered, it was destroyed by the act and under the authority of the Chinese government. If these facts covered the whole case, they would, according to the ordinary principles that regulate the intercourse of nations, justify the hostile measures adopted by the British government. According to those principles, subjects or citizens owe allegiance to the

governments to which they stand in that relation, and in return they are entitled to protection in person and property. If a foreign government lawlessly and unjustly injures them in either or in both respects, their own government is bound as far as possible to obtain redress. It is well known also, that the persons of ambassadors are held peculiarly sacred. But the facts adduced do not constitute the whole case; for, in the first place, the superintendent of trade was not an ambassador, did not sustain the representative character, was never recognised by the Chinese government in any other way than as a commercial agent of the British government, was consequently entitled only to the immunities of a consul, and, moreover, without being apprehended or even sought by the Chinese authorities, he of his own accord placed himself in the predicament that entailed on him the treatment to which he was subjected in common with others with whom he gallantly resolved to link his own fate. For any mal-treatment of him, therefore, in his official capacity, the Chinese government cannot be justly held answerable. In the second place, the superintendent of trade, by the step which he took, however personally honorable, identified himself with those who were believed by the Chinese authorities to have grossly and perseveringly violated their laws by engaging in the opium smuggling trade. That many of those imprisoned had thus violated the laws of China in the most systematic manner, there can be no doubt; that all had done so is not so clear; for there appear to have been some exceptions to the general corruption and degradation of the mercantile character. And here, as far as I can judge, is the single blot which attaches to the proceedings of the Chinese government in this matter, that of confounding the innocent with the guilty; but in such a summary transaction, how could they discriminate between them? and even towards the guilty their proceedings were lenient. For, in the third place, they offered their prisoners supplies of food which were contemptuously rejected, and confined them only in one of the foreign factories which had ample accommodations. The single demand of the Chinese authorities was that, opium being contraband, that quantity of it which the British merchants had previously admitted to be in their possession should be forthwith surrendered for destruction. This cannot be deemed a measure of extreme severity. They held in custody a body of confessed smugglers, and all they required was, that the

article in which they had been unlawfully trafficking should be surrendered ; and when this was obtained, they were one and all allowed to depart without molestation. When we look at the punishment of smuggling in European countries, which falls on the person as well as on the property of the smuggler, the conduct of the Chinese authorities must be acquitted of harshness. In the fourth place, the opium having been confiscated solely for the purpose of destruction, and having been in fact destroyed, the right of the Chinese government so to destroy it is equally indisputable. Any other assumption is the most monstrous that a civilized government can well be conceived to make ; and yet the claim for indemnification, which is one of the declared objects of the war, must be founded upon a denial of this right. On Chinese soil, and consequently within the jurisdiction of Chinese laws, certain persons are found, who admit to the Chinese authorities that they are in possession, within the limits of the Chinese waters, of an enormous amount of prohibited and smuggled goods. They are seized, and for the sake of liberty and safety they are induced to surrender the goods which are immediately destroyed, to prevent the public and private evils which a truly paternal government perceives would arise from their consumption. But the government which recognises as subjects those who have been notoriously and avowedly implicated in this extensive system of smuggling, takes up their cause, demands reparation for the detention of their persons, and restitution of an equivalent for their goods, and wages war to enforce these astounding claims ! And this is done in the face of Europe and America, and a universal burst of indignation has *not* followed ! Nay, statesmen, lawyers, and orators, friends of religion and virtue and liberty, of the rights of human nature and of nations, are found, who cheer the aggressor on, and wish him God-speed, and gravely quote precepts of Christian morality to encourage him in this Holy War in defence of smuggling and smugglers, and against a government and a nation who have shown themselves sincerely anxious to escape from the moral contamination, as well as the political degradation, which European commerce would inflict ! Can such things be, and not excite our special wonder ? Are these, alas ! the boasted triumphs of civilization and Christianity, — of European as opposed to Asiatic civilization, — of Christianity as opposed to idolatry, polytheism, and Buddhism ? I denounce such civilization and such Christianity,

which must be reformed altogether, before they can truly deserve such worthy names.

Do I then accuse the English government of carrying on a war, which they know or believe to be unjust? I have no such intention. The cases in human affairs, in which wrong is deliberately and knowingly planned and executed, are, I believe, fewer than appearances would at first warrant us in supposing. Men first, by various processes and under different influences, become convinced that evil is good and that wrong is right, and then they work out the evil purpose and the wrong act, believing them to be good and right. The processes and influences, by which the British government has been in this instance led astray are, I think, not difficult to be traced; but they can here be only briefly indicated. To conceive justly on this and other similar subjects, it is necessary to disabuse our minds of the somewhat superstitious notions, attached to the regulation of national concerns in peace or war. When we say that England is at war with China, the idea presented to the mind and commonly received is, that the entire population of that country, although not engaged in direct hostilities, takes an active interest in favor of the war, while in fact comparatively few take any interest in it; of these a large proportion are opposed to it; and the majority of the nation neither know nor care anything respecting it. When we say that the government of Great Britain has declared war against China, the idea presented to the mind and commonly received is, that Queen, Lords, and Commons, or at least the entire body of the responsible ministers of the crown, or if not all, at least those ministers of the crown who constitute the cabinet, have calmly and fully investigated the question involved in the controversy between the two nations, and have deliberately pronounced on the necessity and justice of the war; whereas the fact most probably has been, that the Cabinet in a matter not directly connected with European, domestic, or party politics, was wholly guided by the individual judgment of the Secretary of State for foreign affairs. This analysis might be carried further, and the question of peace or war be found to have been determined by some clerk of the Foreign Office, to whom the Chinese department is assigned, and from whom the noble Foreign Secretary, immersed in discussions of nearer and deeper interest, may have received all his impressions of the points in dispute. All I mean to show by these remarks is, that the most important

affairs of a nation are often, perhaps most frequently, perhaps also under existing political arrangements necessarily, determined, not by the grave consideration and united wisdom of many, but by the unaided judgment of one, whether a Secretary of State or a Secretary of State's clerk ; and that there is nothing improbable in itself, nor impertinent to the matter in hand, to assume that that individual, in giving an impulse to the national councils in favor of war with the Chinese, was ill-informed and misguided. This assumption affords, in my opinion, the true explanation of the unjust war which England is now blindly waging against China.

It is not sufficient, however, to establish the abstract liability of a single mind to mistake from want of information, or to prejudice from interested influence. It is necessary to show, and it may be shown by undoubted facts, that the English government has for centuries past voluntarily deprived itself of the opportunity of acquiring a correct knowledge of its relations with the Chinese, and of the proper mode, consistently with its own honor, of conducting negotiations with that government ; that in consequence a want of information, leading to the most fatal mistakes, laid the foundation of the present difficulties ; and that from their commencement a deeply interested and most pernicious influence has been in operation on the British councils to foster hostilities.

Mr. Adams has committed an error of much less consequence than others into which he has fallen in connexion with this subject, in stating that among the expedients to which the British government resorted, to escape from the alleged degradation of the terms on which alone the trade with the Chinese could be conducted, was that of granting a monopoly of the trade to a company of merchants. This was no escape ; for it was still English men and merchants that reconciled themselves to unworthy compliances ; it was still the English flag that was degraded ; it was still English honor that was tarnished, if there was degradation and dishonor to Englishmen in complying with the established regulations of a foreign government, any more than to citizens of the United States who for the last half century have peaceably and obediently traded with China, under precisely the same conditions and restrictions. Such a reason for granting the monopoly was never before assigned by friend or foe of the East India Company ; and in point of fact the monopoly of the China trade was created by the same charters from the

Crown and the same acts of Parliament, by which the entire trade to the East of the Cape of Good Hope was bestowed on the India Company; and it was never contemplated as a means of escape from the alleged degrading conditions of the China trade. But observe one of the effects of the monopoly, to which Mr. Adams has not adverted. It had the direct effect not only of excluding the majority of the English people from a profitable trade, but also of excluding the English government itself from almost all practical experience of Chinese institutions, the principles of Chinese policy, and the rules and forms of official and diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese government. The monopoly existed from about the year 1600, when it was established, to the year 1833, when it was abolished, with few and short intervals of free trade; and during that long period the public and official intercourse with China was conducted in the name, by the authority, and through the agents of the East India Company, with the exception of the two Royal Embassies of 1792 and 1816, which, although headed by two noblemen directly appointed by the crown, were efficiently organized only by the aid and coöperation of experienced servants of the East India Company, who derived all their knowledge of the Chinese language, character, and manners from long residence at Canton. Whether diplomacy be regarded as a science or an art, there is no science or art that is more purely conventional; and the rules of official intercourse between two nations like the English and Chinese, wide as the poles asunder in respect not only of distance but of institutions, character, interests, and policy, must necessarily be the mere creatures of convention. But conventional rules satisfactory to both parties can be established only as the result of mutual compromise and long experience; and when the English government created the monopoly of the East India Company and debarred themselves from that systematic official intercourse which would have sprung up under a different state of things between the two governments, they not only entailed on their successors ignorance and inexperience, but in that ignorance and inexperience they sowed the seeds, of which the fruits are now reaped in contention and bloodshed. It is true that when the monopoly ceased, the English government might and did employ the experience acquired by the servants of the East India Company; but the rules for the intercourse between two bodies of mercantile monopolists,

English East India Directors or their supercargoes, and Chinese Hong merchants, were not a fit standard for the intercourse between two nations or their representatives; and in the mean time the Chinese had discovered the danger of recognising the English in any other than a mercantile capacity and the necessity of recognising them even in that capacity only under the strictest regulations. In the monopoly of the East India Company, then, and the consequences clearly deducible from it, we have the primary cause of the estrangement and misunderstanding between the two governments.

The effect of this state of things became apparent as soon as the monopoly was abolished, and the English government attempted to regulate the trade of its own subjects with China and to enter into direct communication with the Chinese authorities. The primary cause of the war already mentioned had remained dormant and in abeyance, but it now became efficient and operative. The Chinese authorities, as Mr. Adams correctly states, had distinctly intimated the necessity of providing some other medium of communication on questions of trade, when the functions of the East India Company's supercargoes should be superseded; and accordingly, in conformity with the act abolishing the company's monopoly, certain "superintendents of the trade of British subjects in China" were appointed by the Crown, — a measure of unquestionable expediency and propriety, corresponding with the appointment of consuls to other countries. The second measure was to create a court for the administration of justice to British subjects resident in China, over which the superintendents of trade at Canton should preside. This measure, the creation of a court of justice by the authority of the English Crown on the Chinese soil, and without the permission of the Chinese government asked or received, was contrary to all precedent and principle, and was happily not persisted in. It therefore occasioned no difficulty with the Chinese; but it affords an appropriate illustration of the spirit of overbearing assumption that was at work and seeking vent, and of the amount of common sense and knowledge of international law that was employed by the English government in regulating the trade of its subjects with China under the new condition of things. The third measure affords an additional illustration of the same qualities, proposing, as it did, to impose duties in the port of Canton, by the authority of the British Crown, on ships and goods of British subjects

trading to China, for the purpose of defraying the expenses, attending the appointment of superintendents of trade and the establishment of a court of justice. This measure also was found impracticable and abandoned. What would Americans think of a British order in council, establishing a British court of justice in New York, and another imposing a duty on the entry into that port of British goods and shipping? Or what would Englishmen think of the American government announcing such measures to be carried into effect in the port of London? Yet these very measures were formally adopted and directed to be carried into effect by the superintendents of British trade in Canton; and although subsequently relinquished, they display the combined ignorance and arrogance that prevailed in the British councils at the commencement of the present difficulties, and to which those difficulties may be clearly traced. The next step made this still more apparent. The superintendents proceeded to their destination with instructions from their government, to the effect that the chief superintendent should announce his arrival at Canton by letter, instead of petition, addressed and forwarded direct to the viceroy of Canton, instead of being communicated through the Hong merchants. Now the superintendents, including their chief, claimed to act in no other or higher capacity than that of superintendents of trade; and it is admitted to be one of the fundamental laws of the empire that all communications on trade at the port of Canton should pass through the Hong merchants. What folly and presumption, then, for the English government summarily, abruptly, peremptorily, without discussion, and without an attempt to gain the concession by amicable means, to claim the abrogation of a fundamental law of the Chinese government! The letter was of course refused at every point, except by the Hong merchants to whom it was not entrusted, and the affair terminated by the display of a British naval force in the Canton river, by the authoritative suspension of the British trade with China, by the expulsion or flight of the superintendents from Canton, and by the almost immediate death of the chief superintendent at Macao. The insults and indignities offered to the chief superintendent, to the British merchants, and to the British nation, on this occasion, were so numerous and great, that the strongest desires were excited for retaliation and revenge; but the ground on which the instructions of the British government to the superintendents rested,

and on which the chief superintendent acted, was so clearly untenable that no public notice was taken of the unfortunate transaction. This collision undoubtedly paved the way for the hostilities that are now raging; but it will be observed that it originated in causes for which the Chinese government cannot justly be held accountable, and that it was far more sinned against than sinning, unless it be a sin in a nation to maintain its own independence and enforce its own laws on its own soil, against the pretensions of an insolent foreign intruder. It illustrates the position which I adduced it to establish, that the English government, without deliberately purposing wrong, has been, since 1833, groping its way in an unknown path, and that this almost incredible ignorance, with the arrogance which is its usual accompaniment, has entered in an important degree into the causes of the war.

The next collision was that which originated in the opium traffic and which has led to actual hostilities. We have already gone into the details of this affair, and it will have been seen that the superintendent of British trade at Canton identified himself with those who had been apprehended and were detained as smugglers by the Chinese government; and that the British government, by demanding indemnification for their losses as one of the objects of the war, has identified itself with the same class. In the case of the superintendent, we may suppose a chivalrous feeling that induced him to incur risk in his own person to save the lives of his countrymen; but he not only sought to save their lives, but further compromised his office by pledging the honor of his government for the restitution of their property. His duty was, without pledge or stipulation of any kind, to call upon his countrymen, for the sake of liberty and life, to surrender property, the mere possession of which was a clear and direct violation of Chinese laws. The British government disowned the act of its agent, and refused to admit its liability to the original holders of the opium, which it was perfectly entitled to do, because he had not only acted without authority, but he had exercised a very questionable discretion in such a manner as to degrade the character of his government and to identify it with the protection of smuggling. The British government, however, not only denied its own liability, but has sought to impose that liability on the Chinese government, and has volunteered all its powers in the most hostile form, to enforce this liability in favor of the original

holders of the opium. The only language consistent with the facts, into which this conduct can be interpreted, is that the Chinese government shall not be permitted to administer its own laws against English smugglers of opium, and that if it presumes to administer them, the English government will hold it answerable for the consequences. It is inconceivable that any government would advance a proposition so outrageous, either in doctrine or in practice ; and to escape from such an interpretation my first supposition is that which I have already suggested, that there is an extreme want of information in the British councils, respecting the real facts and bearings of the question. But there is another explanation which the very nature of the case supplies, and that is, that very powerful and wide-spread interests and influences have been employed to mystify and misrepresent the question, and to make the worse appear the better reason ; and that the British Secretary of State for foreign affairs, or his clerk in the Chinese department, originally ill-informed and inexperienced respecting this new branch of international relations, and excited and indignant at the unavenged insults received in the person of Lord Napier, was exceedingly open to such misrepresentations and influences. In order to indicate the sources of these misrepresentations and influences, it is necessary only to remind you that almost all the mercantile houses at Canton are engaged in the opium trade, either on their own account or as consignees ; that at Singapore, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay the speculators in opium, or the lenders to speculators on the security of opium shipped through their agency, are found in almost every class of society, Englishmen, Hindoos, Mussulmans, Armenians, Parsees, and Jews ; that the monopoly of the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in India by the East India Company, for export to China, yields a most important item of revenue to the East India Company's government, which the stoppage of the smuggling trade would entirely annihilate ; that all these opium monopolists, opium speculators, advancers of capital on opium securities, and opium consignees, living, moving, and having their being in the opium trade, have extensive and powerful connexions among the merchant-princes and politicians of Great Britain, many of whom are probably by a direct interest connected with the trade ; and that the East India Company in particular, to whom the opium trade is so important, is a constituent element in the government of the British Empire,

a separate department of state for East India affairs, — misshapen, indeed, and deformed in every feature, ill-contrived and ill-executed, as an instrument of government, corrupt, corrupting, and vile in all its uses,

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum —

but only therefore the better fitted and the more likely to employ its influence, in order to excite an unjust war for the perpetuation of a smuggling trade of which its monopoly is the foundation stone. When to all this is added that the public countenance given by the British Indian government to the opium trade, the corrupt connivance at it of the officers of the Canton government, and the long familiarity with its details of the entire mercantile community of India and China, have blunted the perception of its radical illegality, and caused it to be conducted for many years past with almost all the openness and frankness of a perfectly regular traffic, at the very mouth of the Canton river, and almost under the eye of the Chinese government, it will readily be perceived how naturally the opium traders would come to practise a deception, first upon themselves, and then upon others; would regard a drug, the sale of which was anxiously pushed by their own government which they respect, and only verbally prohibited by a foreign government which they despise, as a commodity of legitimate trade, resent any attack upon it or upon themselves on account of it, as a violation of their rights as British subjects, and without any pretence or affectation, and with all the vehemence of a just indignation at the seizure of their persons and the destruction of their property, claim the protection of their own government against the acts of the Chinese government, which in fact was only just becoming awake to the enormity of the evil that foreign cupidity and native corruption had produced, and which now probably for the first time had honestly and earnestly, at whatever cost and at all risks, determined to extirpate the destructive gangrene from the body politic. The imperfect information and experience of the British government in Chinese questions prevented it from detecting the obvious fallacy, couched in these reclamations, it was just in the temper to lend a ready ear to the demand for redress, and war accordingly ensued.

This view of the real causes of the war would be incomplete, without an attempt to estimate the probable motives that influenced the Chinese government, in pursuing the course of

policy which it has adopted towards the English. It is impossible for us to think exactly as a Chinese does of English politics and policy in the East; but provided our ideas are based upon undoubted facts, the danger of error would seem to be wholly on one side. From the absence of all personal and national interest in our minds, there is no danger of our exaggerating the weight of notorious facts; but on the contrary, it is probable that we shall view objects dimly, which appear with great vividness to Chinese perceptions, and that we shall think feebly and tamely of acts and circumstances which excite, alarm, and inflame the Chinese mind, and are fitted to call forth all its energies. If we are sure of our facts, then, we know on which side a deficiency may be found, and an allowance should be made.

Mr. Adams has dwelt with just and virtuous indignation on the religious principle of the Muhammadan nations, that it is their duty to propagate their religion by the sword; on the impious pretended vision of Constantine, who first inscribed this cruel, absurd, and unnatural principle on the holy banners of the meek and lowly Jesus; on the presumptuous gift in 1445 by Pope Nicholas V. of the kingdom of Guinea and all its negro inhabitants to the king of Portugal; and on the similar presumptuous gift in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI. of the entire western hemisphere to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. In each of these cases, proselytism was the professed object, — conquest, conquest by the sword, was the motto, the maxim, the means, the sole law by which power and territory acquired were retained and employed. England, to whatever purpose she may hereafter employ her power in the East, has not had proselytism for her professed object; but her career has been a career of conquest, of conquest by the sword, or rather of conquest by force and fraud combined, conquest under the most insidious devices, and by the most flagitious means, — conquest, which, equally with the daring and insulting assumptions of Muhammad and Constantine, of Nicholas V. and Alexander VI., has unblushingly trampled on and outraged the rights of nature and the laws of nations, the principles of religion and the precepts of morality. Englishmen, a little more than two centuries ago, entered a mighty empire as humble traders, seeking only commercial objects, praying only for commercial privileges, desiring only to build commercial factories and to make commercial exchanges. They were pro-

foundly convinced that commerce is among the natural rights and duties of men, and that there is no other way by which men can so much contribute to the comfort and well-being of one another as by commerce or mutual exchanges of equivalents. Englishmen are now the Lords Paramount of that empire; and with the sword in their hands and the words of peace on their lips, they give the law to one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, who crouch or writhe beneath their power. Is the lesson to be derived from these facts to be lost on the world? It is somewhat late in the day, — it is stale, flat, and unprofitable, — to talk of Constantine, who was a lie, and whose spirit and image have passed, as all lies must, into oblivion or contempt; of Muhammad, whose followers have lost the power to be intolerant, and who instead of persecuting others find it difficult to retain what they possess; of Nicholas and Alexander, giving away countries and continents which were not theirs, when those continents have taken the law into their own hands, and have rejected the authority both of Kings and Kaisars, of Popes and Popes' *Protégées*. But the power of England in the East is still rampant, going on conquering and to conquer; to-day subverting one dynasty and to-morrow another; this year adding one province and the next another to its vast empire; in 1839 invading and taking possession of a kingdom which seemed placed beyond the reach of its ambition, and in 1841 invading and threatening an empire still more inaccessible and containing more than three hundred millions of people. Let it not be supposed that China, shut out or shut in from intercourse with the world by the great wall of her own narrow and contracted policy, is ignorant of the mighty political movements that have been going on in her neighborhood, raising England, already a first rate European power, to the command and influence of a first rate Asiatic power also. The Crown of England losing an empire in the West has gained a new empire in the East, but it has been gained in the name and by the arms of a company of merchants, the same company whose servants have been the sole or chief medium of communication with the Chinese functionaries at Canton, to whom they have been proud to parade the power and authority, the grandeur and might, of the conquering traders whom they owned as masters. If this source of information were wanting, Russia sustains not only commercial but political and diplomatic relations to China, and she takes care, of

course from purely friendly and benevolent motives, to keep her neighbor fully acquainted with the progress of English domination in India, and under present circumstances to encourage her in resistance to English pretensions and claims. Still further, Thibet, constituting the table land to the north of India, is a dependency of the Chinese empire; Nipal and Bhutan to the north and east of Bengal are its tributaries; and Assam, a recent conquest of the British from the Burmese, is actually conterminous with Yunnan, the most westerly province of China. The Chinese government, therefore, labors under no want of information, regarding the gradual and all-absorbing encroachments of English power, and its acts prove that it is fully alive to the danger, and is determined to guard against it. Hence its avoidance of diplomatic intercourse with the English and others, except on conditions which recognise their own superiority, and establish the relation of lord and vassal, Russia alone having, it would appear, succeeded in allaying the well-founded jealousy of the Chinese government, and in securing equal terms of intercourse. Hence the limitation of the ports of traffic to one, contrary to the original custom of the empire, and the imposition of the various forms, regulations, and restrictions that have proved most offensive to foreigners. And hence also the alleged and not improbable intrigues of the Chinese government, against the interests and influence of the English government, at the courts of Nipal, of Burmah, of Siam, and of Cochin China, leading in the case of the two former, in combination with other causes, since the commencement of the present misunderstanding with China, to the most unfriendly demonstrations which have threatened and portended an early open rupture with both. We view all the facts belonging to this case, both those which tend to inspire the suspicions and fears of the Chinese government, and those which prove the existence of its suspicions and fears, separately and unconnectedly; and it is with some hesitation, although with a high degree of moral probability, that we deduce the effect from the cause, and infer the cause from the effect. But if we could take in the whole scope of Eastern politics from the point of view in which they are regarded by a Chinese statesman or cabinet minister, how different would be the effect on our minds! The haughty dictation of Napoleon's upstart government to ancient and venerated dynasties, his self-aggrandizing policy, ever demanding heavy sacrifices, and never satisfied

with the humblest compliances, constitute but a feeble analogy to the career of England in the East at the present day ; and if we could read the thoughts and schemes of emperors not yet subdued, of kings still struggling in the toils that have been spread for them, and of princes and nobles and people prostrate before their foreign conquerors, we should witness numerous exemplifications of all the virtues which nations have agreed, perhaps on false and imperfect principles, but which nations, however mistakingly, have agreed most to honor, — royal pride and self-reliance amid new and unheard of difficulties, with a just indignation at the insolent dictation of foreign marauders, — the loyal attachment and self-sacrificing devotion of nobles to their sovereign and their country, — and the patriotism of all classes bravely fighting and dying cheerfully for national independence and for a national government, for national laws and national institutions.

It will be observed that the Chinese government has been compelled to place itself in this repulsive attitude towards the English government, by causes wholly irrespective of the opium trade ; but that trade has added several new and most offensive features to the system of English policy. It has been seen that the British superintendent of trade openly espoused the cause of opium smuggling and smugglers, and that the British government has literally, although perhaps blindly, engaged in war to defend them and to obtain reimbursement of their losses. What can the Chinese government think of this, but as a formal interference with, and direct attack upon, its municipal laws and institutions, by a foreign government countenancing its lawless subjects ? Again, the British government of India holds the monopoly of opium in its own hands, derives a revenue of about two millions sterling annually from that source, and with that view not only stimulates the production by every means in its power, but in its opium factories and under the inspection of its own servants, carefully adapts the qualities of the drug, and even the very form in which it is packed, to the demands of the Chinese market ; and when through any unforeseen occurrence or mal-arrangement loss accrues to the smuggler, it compensates him for that loss, as it has recently done within my own knowledge, under Lord Auckland's administration of the affairs of India, in order to encourage the smuggler to the prosecution of this prohibited traffic. All this is known to the Chinese government ; and

what does it exhibit but the most reckless, presumptuous, and unprincipled contempt of that government and of its laws, which, if displayed towards any European or American government, would be instantly resented in the most summary and decisive manner? Add to this, that, within the last six or eight years, a new impulse has from various causes been given to the opium traffic, so that the holders of this prohibited drug have not been content to deliver it to purchasers from the receiving ships, stationed at Lintin at the mouth of the Canton river, but have fitted out fast-sailing schooners, armed to the teeth and loaded with this pestiferous cargo, which they have forced into many of the ports on the north-east coast of China, prohibited even to the ordinary and legitimate foreign traffic, — and you will have some idea of the daring lawlessness of the smuggler, when upheld and countenanced by his own unprincipled government, and of the indignation and alarm that have been spread along the whole accessible coast of the empire.

After a full consideration of the merits of the case, as far as they can be estimated from the facts known to me, I have no hesitation in arriving at the conclusion, on the grounds stated, that China has afforded no just cause of offence to England, — that it is China who has received gross and aggravated insult and provocation from England, — and that the general policy of England in the East is systematically aggressive, and her special objects in this war wholly illegitimate and indefensible.

I cannot relinquish this subject, without adverting briefly, in conclusion, to the probable results of the pending hostilities, and to the sentiments with which we should regard so dire a calamity as that of war wantonly inflicted upon any portion of the human race. Every opinion as to results is of course merely conjectural, and must be tried by the event; but when I consider, on the one hand, the vast resources of England, and the skill and science with which they can and will be wielded for the purposes of destruction; and, on the other, the extensive territory and numerous population of China, and by these means the great power which she possesses of offering at least a passive resistance, I can anticipate only a somewhat protracted war, to the continued interruption of the general commerce of the world, and to the serious mutual injury of both the belligerent parties. The state of war is, however, unnatural, and must sooner or later be followed by peace; but from the

relative character and position of the two governments I do not expect anything better than a patched-up peace, to be again broken by mutual provocations and insults. As science and skill must in the long run rise superior to mere numbers, England, unless other unforeseen causes should intervene, will most probably triumph, and will add from time to time to her territorial acquisitions, and may ultimately bring, either directly or indirectly, the entire Chinese Empire under her power or influence. Some may deem that the triumph of European over Asiatic civilization will be salutary in its effects upon the general condition of mankind and the great interests of the world; but, let us not forget, that, although God may turn evil to good, the character of evil and of the evil-doer remains unchanged. In ancient times it was said of a great conqueror whom the Almighty employed as the rod of his anger and the instrument of his purposes, "Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few." In like manner we may have entire confidence that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, and that he will make all things work together for good; and yet we may be bound to bear a faithful testimony, and condemn with an unsparing voice wherever and by whomsoever we find violence and injustice committed. With the moral nature we possess, and under the moral government to which we are subject, we have no right to conclude that evil will produce good; on the contrary, we are bound to conclude that the good we desire will in due time be produced, without the evil means which bad men would employ to produce it, and without the crime and misery, the sin and suffering, which the employment of such means must always entail. This is not only a clear deduction from the fundamental truths of religion and morality, but it is supported and confirmed by the daily lessons of experience, which show that fraud, and violence, and bloodshed, are always followed, in one form or another, to the oppressor as well as to the oppressed, by physical wretchedness and moral degradation; while the beneficent objects sought, or professed to be sought, are counteracted and defeated by the very means employed. I have no faith in the promotion of morality by immoral means, of civilization by decivilizing agencies, of Christianity by unchristian and anti-christian influences. With special reference to the war between Great Britain and China, a subject of the Chinese Empire must know and feel it to be insulting, unjust,

cruel, and spoliatory,—an Englishman honorably may and does condemn it as disgraceful to the national morals, as tending to cherish and extend a ruinous love of conquest, and as introducing a fresh element of instability into the constitution of the British Empire, already possessing an overgrown magnitude, and composed of the most discordant materials,—every foreigner, whether European or American, will perceive in it another proof of the grasping policy and dictatorial demeanor of England in the East,—and every genuine philanthropist and sincere Christian will fearlessly denounce it, because it tramples on the universal law of love, because it violates the commands of a merciful God, and because, to gratify the cupidity of sordid and the ambition of daring minds, it recklessly inflicts misery upon innocent millions.

W. A.

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- ART. II.—1. *Theopneusty, or the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* By S. R. L. GAUSSEN, Professor of Theology in Genoa. Translated by E. A. KIRK. New-York: published by John S. Taylor & Co. pp. 343.
2. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated by J. E. RYLAND. 2 vols. 12mo. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.
3. *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffes, in seinem Verhältnisse zur biblischen Dogmatik des Neuen Testaments. Ein exegetisch-dogmatischen Versuch von LEONHARD USTERI, Rector und Prof. am Gymnasium zu Bern.* Zurich. 1834. pp. 434. [*A development of the peculiar doctrinal views of Paul, considered in relation to the general doctrinal system of the New Testament. An expository and doctrinal Essay by LEONARD USTERI, Rector and Professor of the Gymnasium at Berne.*]

THE three works, the titles of which we have given above, are all of foreign origin; one from the capital of Prussia, one from the German division of Switzerland, and the other from

Genoa, where the French language and literature prevail. They are all curious and interesting as specimens of theological investigation, and as showing the varieties of religious opinion which exist in different parts of the continent. The works of Neander and Gaussen have been translated. That of Usteri, though a very young man (he died, we believe, at the age of twenty-seven) merits, in our judgment, a translation more than either of the others. The treatises of Neander and Usteri especially deserve the attention of American scholars, as models of learned and impartial inquiry. They have the merit, rare in theological works, of being apparently the record of an honest search after truth, and not a partisan attempt to sustain some foregone conclusion. To the shame of theologians it must be spoken, that almost all their works are vitiated by their polemic character. A species of antagonism runs through them, which casts suspicion on their most candid statements. Jonathan Edwards avowed the purpose for which he wrote his celebrated treatise on the Freedom of the Will to be, to put a stop to the career of Arminianism, which was then becoming rampant in the New England churches. And Dr. Priestley seems to have been led into his hypothesis of naturalism, by the support he supposed it to give to his peculiar views of the person of Christ. Not many years ago we recollect to have been struck by the reason given by a clerical traveller in Germany, for a long lamentation which he makes over the general abandonment in that country of the doctrine of endless punishment; "How it must cut," says he, "the nerves of all effective preaching!" The translator of Professor Gaussen would have done well to omit any allusion to purposes of a sectarian character in giving his work to the American public. "How," says he in his Preface, "are you going to press on human belief the unwelcome doctrines of Native and Total Depravity, of the Trinity, of Expiation by the blood of Christ, of Eternal Punishment, of Demons, of Election, of gratuitous Justification, by a Bible which admits of human imperfections in its composition?"

Before we go into the merits of these books, we wish to say one word of German Theology. In the clamor which has been raised on this subject within a few years, there has been much vague and random declamation. We hear the most sweeping anathemas pronounced against the whole generation of German theologians, as a race of men, who have been for

the last half century engaged in the impious work of undermining the authority of the Bible ; and he who touches a German book is suspected to be already on the broad road to infidelity. It is time that such crude prejudices were replaced by juster ideas of the character and labors of those studious men, who have made the Sacred Scriptures the subject of their learned investigations.

In the first place, we may say of Germany, that it is the only country in which the principles of the Reformation have been fully carried out. The great principle of that vast movement, if we understand it, was the substituting of a religion of personal conviction in the place of one of ecclesiastical authority. The principle of the Catholic faith was ; " I believe thus and so, because the Church believes so ;" of the Protestant ; " I believe thus and so, because I find it thus written in the Sacred Scriptures." The question with the Protestant then became ; What do the Scriptures teach ? The Scriptures being written in a foreign language, at a remote period, and in a distant country, the question what they taught could not be decided without the aid of scholars. But the Protestant Church, as a church, proved false to her principles, almost the first hour of her existence. She consented to a Confession, or Formula of Faith, which was nothing less than a relapse into the very principle which she had abjured ; or rather, if we may put the worst construction upon it, it was a confession that her theory of a religion of individual conviction was impracticable. But though the Church faltered and retreated, individuals carried out the principles of the Reformation. They went on to inquire, with the best lights they could command, what the Scriptures teach. This has been the occupation of the army of German theological students, pastors, and professors for the last century and a half. While the shadows of the Middle Ages have been still brooding over Italy and Spain, while France in her recoil from Catholicism has wandered off into religious apathy and unbelief, and England with her established church and thirty-nine articles has settled down under a Protestant Popery, the scholars of Germany have been cultivating every branch of study which could throw light on the Bible. They have pursued their studies with great advantages. Their vast libraries have placed within their reach everything in Roman, Greek, Jewish, and Oriental literature, which has any bearing on the sacred records. Such has been the number,

the zeal, and the diligence of the inquirers, that the materials may almost be said to be exhausted. Whatever may have been the results to which they have come, it must be allowed that the Germans at least are entitled to have opinions on subjects of biblical criticism, as they are the only people who have most thoroughly examined the grounds upon which an opinion is to be formed. And it might excite our ridicule, if it did not move our indignation, to see writers in our theological journals passing sentence upon German works, whose merits they have not the learning to test, and whose theories, right or wrong, they have not the depth of research to verify or refute. To look out the authorities merely of a moderate sized German theological treatise, would make a more thorough theological scholar, than most of those who take upon themselves to condemn in a mass the productions of that wonderful people.

As to the speculations of the German theologians, that is quite another affair. To collect the materials, and then to extract the truth from them, are two different processes, demanding powers of a different order. In the first, the Germans have been eminently successful. In the last, they seem to us, we must confess, to be signally deficient. They seem to want that practical sagacity and broad common sense, which appear to be natural endowments of the Anglo-Saxon race; that higher wisdom which arrives at the soundest conclusions from the narrowest premises, and divines, as it were, the truth without the trouble of going through the voluminous evidence. As examples of what we mean, we would refer to the theological writings of Locke and Paley. Without a tithe of the German erudition, it would be impossible to point out anything written by their profoundest scholars to be compared with Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* and Locke on the Epistles, as works of popular and practical utility.

To an English, and especially an American mind, there is something almost always exceedingly fanciful and unsatisfactory in German speculations. In the midst of a metaphysical or scientific discussion, in which the greatest accuracy and clearness of expression are required, we meet with a mystical, indefinite, or figurative word, which breaks the chain of argument, and disappoints and vexes us, just like an illegible word in a manuscript, or an important word omitted in a printed page. From this fault even their best writers are not free. In a writer generally so sensible as Neander, we find in the second para-

graph of his book such an expression as this, in what is intended for a plain historical statement ; — “ the unity of a divine life manifesting itself in a variety of individual peculiarities.” This expression, by the way, contains the germ and substance of the whole treatise, and ought to have been stated with the greatest logical clearness and precision. The meaning of this dark saying, enigmatical enough for the Sphinx herself, we afterwards find to be nothing more nor less than this, “ Christianity did not destroy individual peculiarities in the primitive church ; but each one, even the Apostles themselves, apprehended and represented it according to their mental and moral characteristics and previous education.” Had he said this at the outset, the reader would have comprehended his whole purpose at a glance, and not have been left, as he now is, to divine it from an obscure parenthesis. Nor is Usteri, the clearest German we have ever read, in our limited acquaintance with their theological literature, altogether free from this propensity to mystification. Take for instance his note on the 329th page, in which occur the following sentences. He is speaking of the person of Christ, after the peculiar conceptions of Paul. “ This being and this form, this spirit and this action, both in their unity, are the unity of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ. The one is his divine, the other his human equality of being, and both are one in the unity of his personal consciousness.” That he had a meaning, which he intended to express in this extraordinary language, it is impossible to doubt, for he is a man of sense, and generally of great clearness ; but of what it is, we can only form a dim conception.

Such a vague and shadowy use of terms in discussions avowedly logical, in effect frustrates the whole purpose of reasoning ; and involves a subject, which we wish to understand, in greater obscurity than ever.

Another fault of almost all their theological discussions is, that they carry their speculations to a pitch of refinement and subtilty, which to the mass of mankind must seem trifling and absurd. The mind becomes fatigued, perplexed, and disgusted with fine-spun distinctions where there is no difference, or if any, one of no practical importance. We feel the same kind of impatience at being entertained with such a sort of quiddities, as we should with a guide who should undertake to show us a great city, and then fritter away our time in displaying the peculiar form and texture of the bricks of a single house. The

Germans seem to forget that the mind has the eyes of a man and not of a fly, and is made to take in things in their general outline, as well as their minute divisions and single particles. The great and momentous doctrines of religion lose their dignity, when submitted to such an infinitesimal analysis, and absolutely evaporate under the process of such extreme comminution. When we see the distinctions of the *objective* and *subjective*, and such like subtleties, carried into the doctrines of the New Testament, which were preached by fishermen for the salvation of the poor, we cannot but be struck with a sense of incongruity. If such refinements are necessary, we exclaim, "Who then can be saved?" Take for example a sentence from the 115th page of the 2nd volume of Neander. "On this sense Paul says that from the one *δικαιωμα* of Christ, objective *δικαιωσις*, and the consequent title to *εωη* comes upon all; that by the obedience of one many shall be made righteous; in this latter passage he probably blends the objective and the subjective; the objective imputation of the ideal of holiness realized by Christ, founded in the divine counsels, or the manner in which the human race appear in the divine sight; and the consequent subjective realization gradually developed, which proceeds from faith." Now we do not say that there is no meaning in all this, or that there are not some minds to whom it may be appreciable and valuable. But we do say that books written in this style will not be generally read, and will therefore be next to useless. Scholars even cannot long stand such grasping after shadows. We recollect somewhere to have seen an account of a grave discussion by a German writer of the temperament of St. Paul. "We see in Paul," says he, "a temperament entirely choleric." Another criticises this judgment, and pronounces it to have been melancholic, and both had their hypotheses of the effect of his temperament upon his writings.

We greatly mistake the American mind if these attenuated speculations ever take deep root among us. That mind is too clear-sighted, keen, and practical to be enamored of a cloud. There is little danger of our running into transcendentalism of any kind. The splendid but inane diction of that philosophy will find few admirers among us. While therefore the American scholar will estimate the deep research of the Germans above all price, for their theories he will have little respect. For their facts he is profoundly grateful, and from them he will

form his own opinions. The fact is, that great learning is valuable and useful only when it is accompanied by corresponding strength of intellect, and power of discrimination. Without these it is useless. It is worse. It only serves to perplex and bewilder, — first its possessor, and then the world. Argumentation, and even the forms of logical deduction suppose a higher and supervisory power of the mind, which for want of a better name we denominate common sense, which penetrates below the show of words, and distinguishes between a substantial reason and mere sophistry. To collect facts, and elicit truth from them, are two different things. One requires diligence alone; the other the acutest sagacity, and the profoundest wisdom; such wisdom as enabled Newton from facts which had always existed, and everybody had seen, to deduce the sublime laws which govern the solar system.

Without this higher wisdom, great learning, instead of enabling a man to arrive at the truth, only sets him to inventing theories, which the same extent of learning will enable him plausibly to maintain. There is scarce anything so absurd that an ingenious man cannot give reasons for it by the score; and, what is worse, he will find people to be persuaded by them; for among philosophers, much more among the mass of the people, is the faculty rare of distinguishing a sufficient from an insufficient reason. In this higher power of the mind, the Germans seem to be remarkably deficient. Hence among them nothing is settled, and nothing seems to be approximating toward a settlement by means of discussion. There is nothing but a succession of theories, which chase each other over the field of mental vision, like the figures of a magic lantern. This remark is applicable not only to theology, but to almost every subject of philosophy and literature.

It follows from what we have said, that there is little hope of the world's being benefited by German speculation, however much it may be enriched by German research. At no time will the theologian be filled with more absolute despair of the results of Biblical criticism, than when he rises from the perusal of such a book as Hengstenberg's *Christology*. He perceives that by the help of Hebrew roots, and the Septuagint translation, it is possible to prove anything imaginable from the Old Testament. He may find the whole new dispensation in the Songs of Solomon, and show that Isaiah, in predicting some event of his own age, took at the same moment a glance

through the whole vista of time, and saw every prominent object from that period to the consummation of all things.

Those have formed a very erroneous idea of German theology, who conceive of it as a homogeneous mass, all having the same tendency and aim. Some among us seem to speak of the theologians of that country as a marshalled army, with levelled muskets, marching on with one consent to storm the citadel of faith. They would more truly conceive of them as an unorganized multitude, without union or order, with their weapons pointing every way, and more likely to demolish each other, than to endanger the rest of the world. The truth is, that almost every possible shade of opinion may find its representative among them, from the ultra orthodoxy of Hengstenberg to the bold infidelity of Strauss. And it may be truly said, as far as our knowledge extends, that no doctrinal position has been as ably defended among them with all their learning, as the same position has been by the theologians of this country and of England. Between these extremes are found, at various points, Tholuck, Olshausen, Usteri, Neander, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Gesenius, &c. The extremes are both characterized by a bad spirit. The scoffing, irreverent manner of Strauss has justly excited the indignation of a Christian people; and the constant efforts of Hengstenberg to attribute the theological opinions of his adversaries to sinister motives, and a corrupt heart, are equally offensive to every fair and honest mind.

Having spoken thus much according to our ability of German theology, we revert to the main subject of this article, the treatise of Professor Gaussen on the Inspiration of the Scriptures. That our readers may form some idea of the object and contents of the book, we shall state his thesis as far as our limits will permit. After speaking of different theories of partial inspiration, he says;

“Our object in this book is to prove, in opposition to these three systems, the existence, universality, and fulness of inspiration. Our first inquiry is, whether the Scriptures were divinely and miraculously inspired. We affirm it. Then we inquire, whether the parts of the Scriptures, which are inspired, are so equally and entirely; or, in other words, whether God has provided, in a definite though mysterious manner, that the very words of the holy book should always be what they ought to be, and should be free from errors. This we affirm. Finally, we inquire whether the whole Bible, or only a part, is thus inspired. We

affirm this kind and degree of inspiration of all the Scriptures, the historical books as well as the prophecies, the Epistles as well as the Psalms, the Gospels of Mark and Luke as well as those of John and Matthew; the history of Paul's shipwreck in the Adriatic sea, as well as that of the shipwreck of the ancient world; the scenes of Mamre under Abraham's tent, as those days of Christ under the eternal tents; the prophetic prayers, when the Messiah a thousand years before his advent exclaimed in the Psalms, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? They pierced my hands and my feet, they cast lots for my garments,' as well as the narrative of the same events by St. John, St. Mark, St. Luke, or St. Matthew. In other words, we aim to establish by the word of God, that the Scriptures are from God, that all the Scriptures are from God, that every part of the Scriptures is from God." — pp. 33, 34.

Farther on he says,

"We should, then, deem it a very erroneous statement to say, certain passages of the Bible are from men, and certain others from God. No; every verse without exception is from men, and every verse without exception is from God; whether he speaks directly in his own name, or whether he employs all the individuality of the sacred writer. * * * Such then is the word of God. It is God speaking in man, God speaking by man, God speaking as man, God speaking for man."

Such is his thesis. It is certainly sufficiently broad and comprehensive. Now for his proofs. We have already had a specimen of his mode of reasoning in one of the sentences given above. "We aim to establish *by the word of God*, that the Scriptures are from God." It gives us no favorable opinion of the man, or of his books, to find his logic tripping at the very outset. He proposes to prove "from the word of God, that the Scriptures are from God." He is guilty, unless we studied the theory of syllogisms in vain, of a *petitio principii*, a begging of the question, at the very commencement of the argument. The word of God says it is from God, and it must be believed because it is the word of God. It is the word of God, because it comes from God. That is to say, the Scriptures are the word of God because they are the word of God. Their testimony to their own inspiration is to be taken because they are inspired, while all the time their inspiration is the very thing to be proved.

Such is the main argument which runs through the book, which Professor Gausson has written, and Mr. Kirk has trans-

lated for the benefit of the American public. The staple of the book, it is true, is not argument, but declamation, addressed to the superstitions and fears of those who have never reflected upon the subject. It is true, his translator tells us, that he does not write for skeptics, but only for believers. If they are believers, had he not better let them alone, rather than shake their faith by offering them arguments which would not be satisfactory to a skeptic? If there are such arguments as are satisfactory, let them be brought forward, and let not the cause of Christianity be weakened by the publication of books, which, even in the judgment of their writers, have no force except with those who already believe.

It is the aim of this writer apparently, to oppose a barrier to the progress of Neology, or Transcendentalism, or whatever we call that view of the Scriptures which prevails extensively in Germany, and has found some abettors in this country. It considers the religion of the Bible as one of the forms of the development of the religious principle in man, and as better than others, just as the theology of Homer is superior to that of the Chinese, and is to be received and preferred, not on account of divine interposition in its conception, or miraculous sanction attending its promulgation, but because it commends itself to the mind as being the most perfect, and worthy, and probable, — the most like truth of anything that has ever been presented. Or, to speak in transcendental phraseology, it was spoken out of the inmost and the holiest in man, and penetrates the inmost and the holiest in man. This, to be sure, is no more than the Mahommedan will say of the Koran, and the Hindoo of the Vedas; but this is of no consequence to our present argument. Our author in making, as he supposes, the highest claim for inspiration, and taking the farthest point from transcendentalism, has come round the full circle, and said the very thing that the transcendentalist would heartily accept. "Every verse without exception is from man, and every verse without exception is from God."

Now this, under the appearance of saying everything, really says nothing to the purpose. The sense in which every sentence of the Bible comes from God must be determined by facts. Every sentence, which comes immediately from God, must bear the stamp of course of the divine attributes. Omniscience is one of those attributes. Now we have in the four Gospels, four different inscriptions on the cross of Christ.

Matthew says it was, **THIS IS JESUS, THE KING OF THE JEWS**; Mark, **THE KING OF THE JEWS**; Luke, **THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS**; John, **JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS**. Now the Almighty cannot by any possibility be ignorant of the very words which were really on the cross. Only one of these, if any one, can give the words which were actually written. Then it will follow, if each of these sentences comes immediately from God, that the Omniscient varied in his statement of a simple fact, or what would be blasphemy to suppose, that he did not recollect precisely what the inscription was. Now, we cannot conceive any way more effectual to discredit the Scriptures, and throw ridicule upon the whole subject of religion, than to set up such a claim as this for our Sacred Writings, and say with the translator, that "every sentence is as perfect as if God himself had written it." In the four accounts of the inscription on the cross, we have the usual phenomena of human testimony, varying as that does in minute circumstances, but agreeing in everything material. These sentences of course come from God only in the sense of his having permitted them to be written, so ordering the course of his providence that they should be written, or upholding the writers in being and sustaining their powers while they wrote them. The same may be said of every book that was ever written. Our author's thesis then, in its most obvious sense, when tested by the actual facts of the Bible, is not found to be true, and, in the only sense in which it is true, does not assert the peculiar inspiration of the Scriptures at all.

We have now given the reader some specimens of the reasoning of this remarkable book. We subjoin an example of its declamation. He is defending the divine inspiration, the theopneusty as he calls it, of the famous passage of Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy about his cloak.

"But now behold him forsaken; no one but Luke is with him; all have abandoned him; winter is approaching. He would need a cloak; he has left his own two hundred leagues off at the house of Carpus in Troas; and no one in the cold prisons of Rome would lend him one. Has he not left everything for Christ, has he not esteemed all the glory of this world as dross that he might win Christ, and does he not suffer all things cheerfully for the elect's sake? We ourselves were at Rome last year in a hotel on a rainy day in the beginning of November. Chilled by the piercing dampness of the cold eve-

ning air, we had a vivid conception of the holy apostle in the subterranean dungeons of the capitol, dictating the last of his letters, regretting the absence of his cloak, and entreating Timothy to bring it to him before winter. Who then would take from the inspired Epistles so striking and pathetic a feature? Does not the Holy Spirit carry you to the prison of Paul to astonish you with the tender self-renunciation, and this sublime poverty? Do you not see him in his prison, loaded with chains while he is writing, and tears falling upon his parchment? And does it not seem to you that you beheld that poor body, to-day miserably clad, suffering and benumbed; to-morrow beheaded and dragged to the Tyber, in expectation of the day when the earth shall give up her dead, and the sea the dead which are in it; and when Christ shall transform our vile bodies, to make them like his own glorious body? And if these details are beautiful, think you that they are not also useful? And if they are already useful to him who reads them as a simple historical truth, what will they not become to him who believes in their theopneusty, and who says to himself, Oh my soul! these words were written by Paul, but it is thy God who addresses them to thee!" — p. 187.

Now all this may be very fine declamation; but what has it to do with proving the divine inspiration of Paul's direction to Timothy about his cloak? It may be very natural for Paul to write for his cloak on the approach of winter; but, as we conceive, less likely on that very account, that the impulse or the language was inspired. It scarcely seems possible to us that the translator could have mistaken such rhapsody for argument. He tells us in his introduction, with an arrogance and assumption too common among writers of his class, that "the Spirit of God has breathed afresh on the Churches of the Old World." He must have even lower ideas of the Holy Spirit than the Neologists themselves, if he considers this book as one of its fruits.

We have now done with Professor Gausson. Of the translator we have a few more words to say. He has not only endorsed the sentiments of the book, but in the introduction he has added some of his own, which appear to us quite as objectionable as the book itself. The representations, which he there makes of the use for which the Bible is given, seem anything but honorable to the Supreme Being; and the reasons he gives, why its theopneusty is to be maintained, are no more creditable to those who make it their commission as religious teachers. "How," he exclaims, "is the conscience of a wicked race to be bound down

by a chain, one link of which is weak? How are you going to press on human belief the unwelcome doctrines of Native and Total Depravity, &c. by a Bible, which admits of human imperfections in its composition?" It would seem by this, that the Bible is given as an engine of crushing and enslaving mankind; and in order to make it more effectual for that purpose, a certain theory of its inspiration is to be maintained. Without this theory, the unwelcome doctrines of Native and Total Depravity, &c. cannot be pressed on human belief. That is to say, God has made all mankind naturally and totally depraved, (it is a depravity of *nature* of which he speaks, therefore one which God reproduces in every individual of the human species,) and then sent them to the Bible to taunt them with the fact! The Bible, viewed in a certain light, is just the book we want to prove certain doctrines, and to accomplish certain purposes. It must by all means then be proved that that view is the true one. Can any confidence be placed in the results of an inquiry conducted on such principles? The case is evidently prejudged. The result is predetermined, and under the form of an investigation for the discovery of truth, we have an *ex parte* and labored argument to sustain a foregone conclusion. The object is not to ascertain what the Bible really is, but to prove it to be just such a book as is wanted for certain purposes. We envy no man his position before the world, who undisguisedly makes such a use of the Sacred Oracles, which he pretends so much to venerate.

He, who would honestly interpret the Bible, must take it for what it is, not for what he would have it to be. And in order to find out what it is, he must analyze its contents. These he will find to be various, History, Laws, Poetry, Maxims, Prophecies, Discourses, Epistles. The first thing, that will probably strike his attention in them, will be certain historical facts, which fall without the ordinary course of the operations of nature, and which we must attribute to the immediate interposition of the Deity. The avowed object of these divine interpositions was to authenticate certain men, as the interpreters of the will of God. Here every individual mind must make its stand. We read, for instance, of the resurrection and ascension of Christ. Is this event, every mind asks itself, under all the circumstances of the case, probable? If it is, then we accept Christianity as of miraculous origin, and divine authority. If not, then we place the miracles of the Bible in the same cat-

egory with the speaking ox recorded by Livy, and the prodigies which are related to have preceded and accompanied the death of Julius Cæsar. The divine commission of Moses sinks by the side of that of Numa, who professed to have derived his laws from a supernatural being in the grove of Aricia. The discourses of Christ subside from heaven-inspired and infallible doctrines into the opinions of Jesus of Nazareth, and everything like authority dies out of every part of the Bible. If we receive the miracles of the Bible, then Moses and the prophets, Jesus Christ and his apostles, become the authorized instructors of the world, and the Christian and Mosaic dispensations a plan devised by God for the gradual religious education of the human race.

After the historical facts, the next thing, which would strike the reader of the Bible, would be its doctrines, both those which are expressly taught, and those which are assumed as true. He would be struck with the first sentence of the Bible; "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." When he learned that this was written by a man educated among a people who worshipped cats and crocodiles, and at a period of the world when the various theologies of the nations were a tissue of ridiculous fables, he would feel that such a doctrine was worthy of God, and sufficiently important to be authenticated by miraculous testimony, and perpetuated by divine institutions. So when he reads the discourses of Jesus, he recognises a wisdom which far exceeds the measure of unassisted humanity. The most natural and philosophical account that can be given of this superhuman wisdom is, that it was bestowed by God for an especial purpose. He bears his commission as much in what he says, as in stilling the tempest or raising the dead.

But these divine teachers of mankind did not originate language, nor did they invent one for their own purposes. They were obliged to use those languages which were already in existence, and adapt them to their purposes. They did not originate the opinions of the world, nor did their commission extend to the correction of the erroneous ideas already in existence, on other subjects than that of religion. It follows, that the Bible is no more responsible for the *opinions* which happen to be alluded to in it, than it is for the original philosophical accuracy of the language which it is compelled to use. The defenders of the Bible, as containing the record of a divine revelation, must

take this ground, or give up the book. For, while the theology of the Mosaic account of the creation is sublime and true, its Astronomy is evidently that of the age in which Moses lived.

A distinction therefore must be made between doctrines and opinions. The doctrines are to be received as divine; the promulgation and establishment of them was the purpose of revelation itself. The opinions are still opinions, and of them every man must be his own judge.

Then after these will be found another element of the Bible, that must be considered in this relation, which consists in figures of speech. The writers of the Bible indulged in the same liberty with other writers, that of using figurative language, that is, language which, in the literal sense, was false, but in the figurative, true. Jesus says that he is the door, the vine, &c. Now if we say that this must be true in a literal sense, because the Bible, is inspired, we shall sooner destroy the authority of the Bible, than convince men of such physical impossibilities. So of the parables of our Lord; they were in the literal sense fables, yet they conveyed the most momentous truths which were ever spoken to man. Although then the truth to be conveyed was divinely communicated, the mode in which it is embodied bears all the marks of human agency and voluntary choice. If the words are not to be taken in their literal signification, and the words do not fix the meaning, and from among the possible figurative senses each one must select that which seems to him most probable, to what purpose would be verbal inspiration? To convey the same definite meaning to every mind, the reader as well as the writer must be inspired. The most then that can be maintained in consistency with the phenomena of the Bible is, that the *ideas* are inspired; and those ideas only which have immediate relation to religion. This is the impression, we believe, which the Bible makes upon the minds of those who are unprejudiced by any theory upon the subject. There seems to have been in the writers a superior, and, as most people decide, a supernatural knowledge of religious subjects. How that knowledge was communicated, we are nowhere told. God, in making a revelation to man, has used human agency. How far that agency is voluntary, and how far it is passive, we are nowhere informed. Where the divine mingles with the human, where the divine ends and the human begins, we are unable to define. Nor is it otherwise with our ordinary actions, and that control which God exercises

over us in his providential government of the world. So hidden from us are the laws of thought and volition, so intimate is the access which the All-pervading Spirit has to our souls, and so certain is it that we are upheld by him in the possession and exercise of all our powers, that it is impossible for us to determine at what point the divine agency ends and our own begins. It is impossible for us to say, looking back upon any sentence we have ever uttered, how far it took the shape it actually assumed by our own choice, or how far it was influenced by causes over which we had no control. These attempts therefore to define what is in itself indefinable, and upon which nothing explicit has been revealed, seem to us to be a loss of time. They are worse. They serve merely to stir up strife. No person can frame, we believe, a definition of inspiration, which will be satisfactory to another. Every man will have his own theory, his own way of accounting for the Bible as it is. And what is more important, no man has any right to impose his theory upon another, or to denounce him because he will not assent to it. The Bible addresses itself to every individual soul, and no mind can look at it through the eyes of another. Every person will have his own theory of inspiration, or mode of accounting for the Bible as it is. The only object, which a verbal inspiration could accomplish, would be to produce a uniform impression upon all whom it addresses, and of course uniformity of religious belief. But has such a uniformity of belief been effected? Then again there is an intrinsic ambiguity in language, each word having many significations. The ambiguity would remain, even though the words were inspired, and inspiration itself fail of producing its end, a uniform impression upon every mind.

Verbal inspiration, if it mean anything to the purpose, must mean, that the words of Scripture are to be taken in their most obvious, literal sense. But those, who assert it most strenuously, make their own reason the judge of what the words mean, and, in so doing, own that in fact they hold only to the inspiration of the sense, though they prefer to hold to the inspiration of the words. And we fear that the translator, whom we understand to be especially unsparing in his condemnation of the Catholics, will find himself in his next controversy with them embarrassed by his own theory. They will press him with the words, "This is my body," and quote against him his own words; "How is the conscience of a wicked race to be bound down by a chain, one link of which is weak? How is the un-

welcome doctrine of Transubstantiation to be pressed upon human belief by a Bible, which admits of human imperfections in its composition? How are you going to check the audacity, which accuses God himself of saying what was palpably false?" If you use reason in turning away the words of Scripture from their literal meaning in the one case, you may in another; and then the doctrine of expiation by the blood of Christ, &c., &c., will be no safer than before. We reject, therefore, the whole theory of this book as unsound and untenable.

What then are the phenomena of the Bible with respect to inspiration, from which all theories are to be deduced, and by which they are to be tried? After having denied the propriety of one person's constructing a theory for another as of any authority, we shall propose our own with the greatest modesty.

To us the inspiration of the writers of the Bible seems to consist in the certain knowledge of a few, grand, leading religious truths; truths probable in themselves by the light of nature, but still involved in doubt; a clearer, deeper insight into human relations and duties, than any unaided mind has attained; and a miraculous knowledge of future events, utterly unattainable by any ordinary human being.

For instance, of the revelation of the Old Testament the great and central truth is the Being and Attributes of the One God. With regard to this truth, at the time of Moses, the world was in great doubt and ignorance; and where there was the nearest approach to it, there was only a species of twilight or rather of star-light. Men were able to see but a little way around them, and groped their way amidst shadows from the cradle to the grave. The announcement of that great central truth was to be the rising of the sun upon the world. All at once was light. It was not only itself a great and adorable light, but it revealed everything else. All religious truth and duty, before obscure, now became distinct and definite, like the landscape beneath the solar ray. God and his providence are the great idea which runs through the Old Testament. Through the fifteen centuries of the duration of the Jewish Commonwealth, this great truth was struggling in the mind of that people with ignorance, error, superstition, and sin. To keep this great idea alive, a ritual was devised, analogous to that of the heathen world, but directed to the one true God, not too refined for a rude people, nor so gross as to degrade and dishonor a perfect and spiritual God. "The light shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it

not." Gradually, however, the light gained upon the darkness, and at the end of fifteen hundred years one nation was redeemed from idolatry, and established in a knowledge of the Deity, approaching in some measure the real perfection of his nature.

The fulness of time was now come, when the world was prepared to take another step ; to discard a ritual and sacrificial religion, and worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; to receive a spiritual instead of an outward law, a rule of life consisting of general principles instead of specific precepts ; to look at things spiritual and eternal, as well as material and temporal. Jesus was commissioned to bring about the great reform, and endowed for the purpose ; and all that he was, and said, and did, and suffered, was precisely calculated to accomplish it. Aided by God's miraculous and common providence, he did actually achieve this mighty revolution, the most important which stands upon the records of the human race.

But then the same book, which records the revelation of these great truths, records likewise the thousand opinions, errors, and prejudices, which existed in the world simultaneously with them, and which these very truths and the progress of science were destined to cure. Take, for instance, the truth of the existence and perfections of the One God, which is the great central truth of the Old Testament, and the Immortality of the soul, which bears the same relation to the New, both established upon the basis of miraculous and indubitable evidence, and you have the two germs of all religion. Everything grows out of them. Everything is contained in them. God and Immortality, the two pillars of true religion, were set up ages apart, the one by Moses, the other by Christ ; and they sustain the great temple of worship, which is destined to gather within its ample dimensions all the nations of the earth. These great truths shine out everywhere, and cannot be mistaken. They render comparatively unimportant all minor articles of belief. The degrees of knowledge of divine things, which were possessed by the writers of the Bible, seem to have been various. In Christ we see the fullest manifestation of divine knowledge. "The spirit was given to him not by measure." But in the apostles, the historians of Christ and of Christianity, we see the great truths which he taught only gradually unfolding themselves to the last. Not only so, two of the books, whose titles we quoted at the commencement of this

article, exhibit to us the evidence, that the rays of divine light were ashamed, if we may so speak, by the different media through which they passed. They tell us, in effect, that the Christ of the first three Gospels is the Messiah of the Jewish Scriptures; that of the fourth is the Messiah of the Jewish philosophers of the school of Philo. Paul's Epistles are colored by his Rabbinical education and habits of thought; and James combats the scholastic refinements of Paul, by an appeal to the simplest principles of common sense. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whoever he was, takes a different view from all the rest. He uses the term faith, for instance, in a different sense from Paul, and quotes the same passage from the Old Testament in a meaning altogether diverse from the Apostle to the Gentiles. If these are facts, and they seem to be made out with the greatest clearness and conclusiveness, they compel us to adopt a theory of inspiration very different from that of Professor Gaussen. They compel us to conceive of the writers of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, as of men supernaturally assured by God of the great truths of religion, and furnished with miraculous powers to establish and perpetuate them in the world. In other things they were not informed above the opinions of their age, or if they were, they did not choose to disturb them.

G. W. B.

ART. III. — *A Discourse of matters pertaining to Religion.*

By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury, Mass. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1842. 8vo. pp. 502.

THIS is a work, which treats, as the heading to the several chapters will show, of the most important subjects that can engage the human mind. It is divided into five books, on Religion in general, on Inspiration, on Christianity, on the Bible, and on the Church. It presents at first sight the appearance of great learning and thought. In its language and manner it bears unquestionably the impress of the author's character and

mind ; earnest and often eloquent ; telling what he feels within himself, and feels that he must speak. There is no forced effort. It is all spontaneous. So far it is original. In its general views, however, we have found nothing which comes to us as new ; — nothing, in short, important either in its leading principles or arguments, which we had not before deliberately examined, and either adopted as true or rejected as false. The great novelty of the phenomenon in this country, though such things have sometimes occurred in Germany, is the fact of a Christian minister laboring to establish the fundamental principles of Christianity, which he states often with great eloquence and beauty, by undermining the authority, not only of the Scriptures, but of Jesus as one specially raised up and inspired of God ; and not content with stripping off every claim to the supernatural, with a consistency more remarkable for its boldness than its wisdom, striving to make us think even the most authentic of the sacred writings — the gospels — entitled, as a narrative of common events, to but a low degree of historical credibility, and Jesus, not only a man, but imperfect and defective as judged by the true standard of human nature. We must not, however, confine our remarks to this general review.

The first book is taken up with an account of the religious sentiment — the foundation in man of all religion — and its manifestations in the different stages of society. The general view, and indeed the particular arrangement, excepting what may be considered the episodes of the book, are substantially those of Benjamin Constant,* and we assent to all its prominent points, as to doctrines long familiar ; but it is very diffuse ; and though enlivened by strokes of eloquence, and sometimes by passages which will shock the minds of many, it is upon the whole a heavy treatise on an interesting subject. It closes with a chapter on Solid Piety, which, though susceptible of being very much improved by compression, contains passages of great truth and beauty.

The second book begins by maintaining that God is a being of infinite power, wisdom, love ; that he is everywhere present

* We were a little surprised to see in a note, p. 118, so slighting a notice of this writer. "Constant," it is there said, "treats this subject with a superficiality unusual even with him." This is a very ungracious return to one, who first distinctly and fully brought out the great idea, which lies at the foundation of the present work, running through every part, and without which it could not have been written.

in nature, so carrying on its works, that the laws of the material world are but another name for the mode of divine action, and that he is present in like manner in the soul. These propositions, which, without any thought of originality or philosophical depth, we have been always preaching as the elementary principles of religion, and as too plain almost to need proof, are here laid down in twenty-two pages of labored composition. Mr. Parker then, pp. 182–189, proceeds to show, with most writers on Natural Theology, that as a general rule, “for each animal, intellectual, affectional, moral want of man, there is a supply set within his reach, and a guide to connect the two; that no miracle is needed to supply the want; but satisfaction is given soon as the guide is followed and the law kept, which instinct or the understanding reveals,” pp. 188, 189; and, pp. 190–196, “from analogy we are to expect such a satisfaction for our spiritual wants, as we have for the humbler wants.” “Man must through the religious sentiment have connexion with God, as by the senses with matter. As no obedient animal is doomed to wander up and down, seeking rest, but finding none; so no obedient man can be left, hopeless, forlorn, without a supply, without a guide.” In times past, “prayers, sacrifices, fasts, priesthoods, show that men believed in intercourse with God. Good, simple-hearted men and women, who live lives of piety, believe it now, and never dream it is a great philosophical truth, which lies in their mind.” After two severe chapters, with many just and some unfair remarks on Naturalism and Super-naturalism, he comes to what he calls the “Natural-Religious view or Spiritualism,” in which are brought out more fully his views of inspiration and its laws. There is nothing original or peculiar in them. The following expressions, taken word for word from a discourse written several years ago, contain as perfect an abstract of his doctrine as could be given in his own language. “Man is endowed with senses, through which he holds intercourse with the material world. He has also higher powers, which are to the spiritual, as the senses to the material world;—through which he holds communion with God, and receives impressions from Him, as through the senses he holds communion with the outward forms of nature, and receives impressions from them.”*

* The following are the passages which we had marked in Mr. Parker's book, as containing an abstract of his views. “As we have

"Immediate communion with God is a want of the soul, and a want which will be answered. The fact of its universal existence is of itself a proof that it will be answered; since all analogy teaches that for every general want in nature provision has been made." "This doctrine (of intercourse with God) not only accords with our wants, but the experience of every devout heart confirms its truth." * * "But what are the laws by which our intercourse with God is governed? So far as we are purified by that perfect love, which, springing from faith in divine things, leads on to righteous deeds, so far are we admitted into the presence of God. The laws of our spiritual growth, and the laws of God's intercourse with the soul, are exactly adjusted to each other. * * And this (view) is in strict accordance with the laws of all physical, intellectual, and moral progress."

The only difference that we can see between this statement of the communion with God of all devout hearts, and Mr. Parker's doctrine, is, that we believe it always proportioned to our spiritual growth, though modified in its results by the greater or less activity and strength of the lower faculties; which of course would exclude it from those who have nothing of the religious spirit; while he believes it proportioned to the quantity of being (the amount of our physical, intellectual, moral, and affectional powers) and the quantity of obedience, which of course would allow the inspiration of God to the most wicked men, and that just in proportion to the extent of their powers. Of two men equally malignant and corrupt, while both are inspired, he who has the greatest capacity, and in the

bodily senses to lay hold on matter and supply bodily wants * * so we have spiritual faculties, to lay hold on God, and supply spiritual wants. * * We have direct access to Him through Reason, Conscience, and the religious Sentiment, just as we have access to nature through the eye, the ear, the hand." p. 215. "We feel religious wants; the history of man is a perpetual expression of these wants. * * How shall we pass from the want to the supply? Now the force of analogy is this, it leads us to expect such a natural satisfaction for our spiritual wants, as we have for the humbler wants. The very wants themselves imply the satisfaction." p. 192. "But this is a doctrine of experience as much as of abstract reasoning. Every man who has ever prayed * * knows the truth of this doctrine." p. 231. "It [the degree of inspiration] depends on the man's *Quantity of being*, and his *Quantity of obedience*. * * He that has the most of Wisdom, Goodness, Religion, the most of Truth, in the highest modes, is the most inspired." pp. 219, 220.

exercise of his faculties perpetrates the greatest crimes, has the greatest amount of the inspiration of God.*

But setting aside such questions like this, which, though important, may yet be left unnoticed amid the vastly more important subjects with which they are connected, we would return to the doctrine of inspiration, as Mr. Parker understands it, and as we most heartily believe. God is present with his faithful children, to hear their prayers and aid them in their weakness and their doubts. "Wherever a heart beats with love; where faith and reason utter their oracles, there also is God. * * Neither Gerizim, nor Jerusalem, nor the soil that Jesus blessed, is so holy as the good man's heart; nothing so full of God. This inspiration is not given to the learned alone, not to the great and wise, but to every faithful child of God." p. 230.

Now this inspiration, — God present in nature and in man, acting here in accordance with the laws of mind, as there, with the laws of matter, — is what, for the sake of precision, we shall call the common mode of inspiration. We believe in it most earnestly and firmly. The laws of nature, — of the inanimate world, of the forest and flowers, — are not a connecting link between us and God, but a direct manifestation of his influence. He is in the leaf and in the star. Every little thing, and those mighty systems of worlds, are filled with his presence, and live and move and have their being in him. Language cannot express too strongly his existence through all his works, nicely adjusting the fibres that shall support the violet, and restraining the comets, that they pass not their appointed bounds. And if in nature, far more in the soul, is his abode. With the humble and the lowly, with the child in his sufferings and his joys, with man in the full strength of his heart, going forth in

* This, while in its consequences too plain for doubt, is in the analysis too nice a subject for a popular review; inasmuch as it involves that exceedingly perplexing question, which is to be decided only by defining the delicate line that marks the limits of human freedom and the divine agency. How far with the will are we left entirely to ourselves, and surrounding circumstances in the exercise of the will, and how far does God restrain or coöperate with us? Our belief is that so far as we choose to disregard the laws of our moral and religious being, so far God, though he may restrain, will not help us forward, or inspire us in our work; and that so far as we act in harmony with those laws, we do (if we seek it) receive light and help from Him.

the cause of truth, and with woman, in the quiet, loving duties of her home, he is present within and around them. As we cannot move without carrying the whole sky with us, so that wherever we may be we find ourselves under the very centre of the dome, so we cannot step but God moves with us, and wherever we may be, there to us is the centre of his being.

This is all beautiful and true, and nowhere is it stated in language at once so beautiful and so universal in its application, as in the words of Jesus. And, if man had not sinned, this would have been always sufficient. No special revelation would have been needed. Like Adam, man in all ages would have found God always "walking in the garden in the cool of the day," — God always present, aiding him in his labors, supporting him under his cares, and communing with him when they were ended, and his heart free to hear the whisperings of his spirit. And like that other pure man, who lived in the infancy of the world, we should always "walk with God," and death would come with no terrors; for then, as of him so of us, might it be said, "he is not, for God hath taken him."

So far we go with Mr. Parker, and thank him for the words of strength and beauty in which he has spoken. But when he adds, p. 227, "Now this, which is coextensive with the faithful use of man's natural powers, is, it seems, the only kind of inspiration which is possible," we would ask, what then shall become of those who have not been faithful? Are they to be cast off as utterly ruined? On his own principles, as construed by himself, if the truth and aid which God imparts are "coextensive with the faithful use of man's natural powers," if "he that has most of wisdom, goodness, religion, the most of truth, in the highest modes, is the most inspired," and by an extension of the same rule, he who has the least of these is the least inspired, the great body of men, both at the time of Moses and of Jesus, who were at once ignorant and sinful, — their very religion tainted with crime, — could derive but small comfort from this inspiration, which they did not, and while in their actual condition could not, receive or understand. But what shall raise them up from that condition? Not the divine aid, according to this law, for they are sunk below its influence. And yet, according to Mr. Parker, for every want there is a supply. "There is not even a disease of the body, brought upon us by disobedience of its law, but there is somewhere a remedy, at least alleviation of that disease." Still less shall it

be so with the mind. But here, through a disobedience so general that it has become almost the law of the human race, withdrawing them from the true law of their spiritual being, — here is a want almost universal, and the deepest of all wants, for which, according to a fundamental principle in the work before us, and in nature itself, some provision must have been made, and yet for which, according to this law of Inspiration, no provision has been made. But though human theories are conflicting or insufficient, God's laws are not ; and before the foundation of the world this emergency had been foreseen and provision made ; that when man, in the exercise of his own free will, had withdrawn himself from the law and knowledge of God, and children born under these influences were brought up, sitting in darkness and the shadow of death, they were not left to grope and perish there forever, without God and without hope, but in the divine constitution of things, the eternal counsels of God (as the Scriptures teach and reason confirms) provision had been made to lift man up, and bring him once more into harmony with the laws of his spiritual nature, and so into harmony with God.

It is idle if not profane to talk of this, as some temporary expedient got up for the occasion, when the established order of things has failed. For aught that we know, this very intervention may have been from the beginning a part of the established order of the universe, more essential, and a higher expression of the divine wisdom and goodness, than what we are accustomed to regard as the only permanent laws of nature. It may be, though we cannot with certainty say that it is, no violation of other laws, but only the intervention of a higher law, to perform, beyond their power, what they could not accomplish, and meet a want which does not at all times exist. But this law, though its effects are visible only once in a thousand years, may always in the divine mind exist, ready to act whenever the conditions of its actions are fulfilled.

But we fear that we impose upon ourselves by the word law, which in its last analysis is nothing more than a mode of divine action ; the law of gravitation, for example, being nothing more than a name for the manner in which God binds together and controls the actions of the physical world ; and the law of inspiration a name for the manner in which he connects himself with the souls of men. Now the mode of the divine action, though always under the same circumstances the same, will yet vary

with the wants and condition of his creatures. It is the same power, the same wisdom, the same goodness in all ; but the mode of its manifestation varies with the circumstances under which it acts. Thus the electric fluid, always present, always active, performs its important functions in the atmosphere, the fibres of the plant, the nerves of man, without light or sound ; but with a change in the condition of the objects where it exists, it suddenly assumes a new character ; it sparkles, ignites, flashes in lightning, and shakes the earth with its thunderings. It always exists, but without these unusual manifestations, essential as its functions are within and around us, its existence could not be known. So the inspiration of God giveth man understanding, is always with him, ready to impart as he is ready to receive, speaking through nature and directly to the soul ; communing with all his faithful children, silent and unseen. But (to carry out the analogy) with a change in the condition of his creatures, this influence assumes a new aspect, and instead of acting silently within, shines out and speaks with an outward power, and by those outward and sudden manifestations, proves, what we had forgotten or but dimly known, the constant and to us essential existence of this divine principle in nature and the soul.

There is a great deal of talk about the violation of the laws of nature, about God's transgressing his own law, remedying by extempore interventions the inherent defects of his system. But there is no violation or transgression of the laws of God. He is as much present in the growth of a plant as in the redemption of the world, and in this as much as that, fulfilling the unchanging law of his being. *He* does not change ; but the condition of his creatures changing brings them under a different law, a different mode of the divine action. Thus, — for the analogy from nature furnishes illustrations almost without number, — a plant or tree is under the law of vegetable life, but at length, unable to fulfil the conditions of that law, it is no longer acted upon by it, but subjected to another, — the law of death or dissolution, — through which its particles, being reduced to their elementary form, are again acted upon by the law of vegetable or animal life. In like manner, while man fulfils the conditions of the inspiration which God offers to all, by that he lives. But when, from whatever cause, he no longer understands or obeys those conditions, that law to him is nothing, and, from analogy, we should expect him to be brought

under the influence of another law, which, like the law of death in the vegetable kingdom, by a course seemingly at variance with the common order of nature, should restore him to life, and bring him once more into harmony with the great law of his spiritual being. Now what was the condition of those to whom Moses and Jesus were sent?*

In one case it was a nation of slaves, sensual, ignorant, and cowardly — looked upon as an abomination by those whom they served, and possessing the qualities, which might belong to a race of barbarians, subjected for several centuries to the most degrading bondage. Now, on the ground that a man's religious life depends "on his quantity of being and his quantity of obedience," where could it be found more nearly extinguished? or where a greater necessity for some other mode of the divine action to come in and save him?

The world, to which Christianity was addressed, was in a condition very unlike this. Through the increased experience of two thousand years, there had been a great advance in art, science, and philosophy. But while the age beginning with the ministry of Jesus was the most enlightened, it was notoriously the most corrupt, that the sun had yet looked down upon. To confine our remarks to Rome, which was in fact the world, the centre and circumference of its civilization and its power, it had just reached that period of intellectual activity and moral corruption, when the simple faith of its childhood had fallen before the questionings of the understanding, and not enough of moral or religious soundness was left, to receive from the ordinary teachings of God higher views of spiritual life. As the former age was bowing itself by an almost irresistible tendency to the lowest idolatry; so this was an age of material Atheism, convulsed, as every such unnatural condition of man must be, by throes of the most violent and unnatural superstition. Obedient souls there may have been, — natural-born inhabitants of the kingdom of heaven, as Mr. Parker might call them, — to whom a purer light was given.

* We have no authority for saying, that the Jewish and Christian are the only special revelations that God has made, though as we have no sufficient evidence of any other, we may confine our remarks to them. However this may have been, the absolute and universal character of Christianity marks it as the one religion, which is now to take the place of all partial and inferior dispensations.

But what could they do with their speculations on God and duty? Their light may have served to guide their own steps, for no obedient soul is forsaken of God; but how far could it shine into the gross spiritual darkness, which had deluged the world? They might pray and sing their song and die; but when Socrates and Plato centuries before had left, except among a few disciples, so slight a trace of their influence behind, what shall they do in an age so vastly beyond theirs faithless and corrupt? And where else shall we look for a power, which, according to the common laws of nature, might bring men back to the laws of their spiritual being? In the refinements of the age, — its works of art, its palaces and statues, its voluptuous songs and music? Was it to be looked for in the old religion? Let Julian with his *flamens* and ministers of state, his strong mind and active zeal and more than royal power reply. Was it then in philosophy; or a better system of laws? Let the Antonines, men as pure and as true as ever wore the stole of the philosopher or the robes of legislative authority, and who did all that imperial influence and strong intelligence could do, answer the question. In short, amid the fermenting and putrefying elements of that old civilization, — its effete religion, its philosophy, almost powerless even in better days, its laws now so much weaker than its crimes, — we confess that we can discover nothing which, according to what we know of the established order of the world, could, by any means, from this corrupt and offensive mass of things, raise up a new and vigorous civilization.

But in the perfect system, which God from the beginning had ordained, a provision had been made. Another law, or mode of divine action, had been provided, that when the common law of inspiration had lost its influence over man, this other mode of the divine agency might come in, and bring him back to that, which he had lost. In short, since the former manifestations of God through nature, and directly to the soul, were unregarded; since the word, — the divine wisdom and goodness, — being in the world were not recognised by man, the light shining in the darkness, and the darkness comprehending it not, — a new manifestation of God, not suddenly devised, but prepared from before the foundation of the world, and prepared for just such an emergency as this, was made to lead the soul back to God, to restore it to the old and perpetual revelation of God, which it had lost.

Such was the office of Christ, an office existing with God in the beginning, — the consummation of his wisdom and goodness, so far as relates to his dealings with man. The word became flesh. God who had before been shining, though to sinful man unseen, through universal nature, from the broadest expanse of heaven, and the lowliest atom of earth, then as never before was manifest in the flesh, speaking with authority, — with signs and wonders, — to the senses and the understanding, the only faculties that were then active, that through them the sentiment of reverence might be touched, and loftier truths received. Thus Jesus, the central sun of this new spiritual world, and, after him, his followers, miraculously illumined and endowed, as the special messengers of heaven, went forth to proclaim the glad tidings of a spiritual redemption. And this new manifestation of God — of the divine wisdom, goodness, and love, through his son, was not permitted to perish; but, fulfilling its mission then, it has been fulfilling it from that day to this, as a miraculous dispensation, speaking with authority to those who through a carnal mind, through ignorance or sin, do not receive, and cannot of themselves learn, the truths which, by restoring them to the laws of their spiritual nature, may lead to the salvation of the soul. And the mighty power of this mode of preaching from the authority of God, — which must always be an outward authority to those who have not recognised the voice within, — shows the wisdom of the dispensation.

According to Mr. Parker, Jesus proclaimed no new truth. On this supposition, and admitting also with him, that the only authority for truth is the truth itself, and the only evidence it can have its own light, how shall we account for the fact, that all this constellation of truths should lie so entirely unnoticed before, and then with him burst out at once into an effulgence and glory, that astonished and converted the world? We know of no answer that can be given. But how were these astonishing results brought about? How was it that truths before unknown or taught in vain, lying dead to the world, should from an obscure carpenter of Galilee, start up at once into the omnipotence of a divine life? Because then first they came forth with what even the skeptic, the wicked, and the sensual man must acknowledge as the sanction of a power higher than man. A divine illumination, unfolding the greatest of all truths, has been for eighteen centuries, and still is, more than

all things else, the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation. Sadly, mournfully indeed has the doctrine of a miraculous revelation been perverted, when that which was but a circumstance has been transformed into the main cause and end, and the great interposition of inspiration and miracle, which was intended to bring men back to the perpetual inspiration of the soul and miracle of the universe, has absorbed all our religious thoughts into itself; and, instead of drawing us to our Father now, serves only to show what he did thousands of years ago, — the dim foot-prints of a Father who once was here, but now has left us orphans. Not such is the design of the peculiar power and authority, with which Christianity presents itself to unregenerate hearts. It would awaken them from their worldly dreams, and from that far country, where their best affections are perishing with hunger, call them back to their Father's house. And when once we have come back into harmony with the laws of our spiritual being, and by lives of truthfulness, and prayer, and love to God and man strive to secure the aid and favor of God, then is he with us, imparting to us of his truth, relieving our sorrows, and a helper of our joys. Then we feel what has been so feelingly described. "Then in the deep silence of the soul, when the man turns inward to God, light, comfort, peace dawn on him. His troubles, — they are but a dew drop on his sandal. His enmities or jealousies, hopes, fears, honors, disgraces, all the undeserved mishaps of life, are lost to the view; diminished and then hid in the mists of the valley he has left behind and below him. Resolution comes over him with its vigorous wing; Truth is clear as noon; the soul in faith rushes to its God. The mystery is at an end." p. 231.

So Jesus, the Mediator between God and man, would come, not to keep us away, but to bring us to our Father. Yet the idea of Jesus as a mediator is one which in this work is hardly mentioned without a sneer or scoff. "We dare not," it is said, p. 5, "approach the Infinite One face to face; we whine and whimper in our brother's name, as if we could only appear before the Omnipresent by attorney." This is a favorite expression with Mr. Parker, and, with some slight modification, is repeated more than once. We need not say that sarcasm, and sneers, and scoffs, however congenial to the mind of him who employs them, are but a poor instrument at best in the investigation of religious truth. But is the idea of the Mediatorial

office of Christ one to be rejected and scouted at in scorn, without examination or thought? God, though present in every soul, is at the same time constantly acting on us and we on Him through the mediation of other objects. The tree, which we plant, is, in both these ways, a mediator between us and God; the means of calling forth his influence in the production of fruit, which otherwise he would not have formed, of bringing his annual bounty to our hands, and, if we receive it aright, of raising from us to Him thoughts of gratitude and love. So with all the objects of nature, which He has appointed as the ministers of his love; — all are mediators between God and us, not changing his character or counsels, but modifying the influence which he extends to us. The flower which speaks to us of the goodness and paternal providence of God brings from Him an influence, which but for its existence would not have come, and, if we receive it aright, draws us nearer to Him. The mountain, on which we gaze in the evening twilight till all visible forms are lost, and our whole soul is absorbed in the thought of Him, before whom earth and sky vanish as a shadow and a dream, is a mediator between God and man, bringing down from Him an influence which would not otherwise have come, and, through that, lifting the soul up to a nearer communion with Himself. So good men, who inspire within us pure affections and longings after truth, and a divine, all-embracing, and sustaining love, are mediators, bringing, as from God, an influence which draws us nearer to Him in thought and life. And if through prayer they are able to call down from heaven some special influence on us, it may be all in conformity with that law through which the tree, the flower, the mountain, and the star, bring down from God an influence which otherwise our hearts had not received. Now in this there is nothing to separate us from God, but through them he is calling us more and more into direct communion with Himself. And why shall we deny this office to him whom God hath sanctified and sent? — the greatest and purest of all whose steps have trod upon our earth, who has imparted to us the truth, and quickened within us the life, which more than all things else shall bring us near to God. And how can we say that even now his influence has ceased? How can we say that he is not now, in ways known only to those who are admitted into the secrets of God's spiritual kingdom, the Mediator, in our prayers, and in other means, of an influence from his Father to us? In this he is

not something between us and God, to separate and keep us apart ; but through his life and death, his words and deeds, and in other ways, it may be, which we know not, co-working with the spirit of God, subduing every wrong passion and every sin within us, he is drawing us nearer to the Father, opening our hearts to a more entire communion with Him ; and at last, when the work of spiritual regeneration is accomplished, and all things within us subdued to God, " then shall the son also himself," — as the last mediatorial being, that shall aid us in our work, — " be subject unto him that put all things under him, and God shall be all in all."

The substance of what we would say on Inspiration is this.

I. God is present through all nature, whose laws are but the established mode of his action, and the more we understand and obey those laws, the more shall we see and feel through them of his wisdom, power, goodness, and love.

II. God is present in the souls of all his children ; and in proportion as we are humble, obedient, pure, and true, shall we know and feel within us his wisdom, power, goodness, and love. The pure and contrite heart is the innermost sanctuary in the great temple of God.

These two are the ways in which God usually manifests himself to man, and in both these ways his influence never fails. But when man from whatever cause has become disobedient and unfaithful, darkness and sin overcloud his mind ; his spiritual nature is dead ; his lower faculties alone are developed ; and the only way in which he can be called back, is by a special revelation, bringing even to these lower faculties marks of divine authority. And thus

III. God has revealed himself to man, by raising up messengers, inspired with a wisdom and clothed with a power beyond what they could receive according to the usual laws of their being. This may be done by a special message confirmed by miracle, as to Moses in the burning bush ; or by a special divine influence exercised even before his birth, preserving a being, born among men, free from every taint of sin through all the experience of life, and so in harmony with God, that the promptings of his own soul are at the same time the promptings of the spirit of God. Thus Jesus and his Father are one. His will, being in a conscious, entire unison with the will of God, his utterance was the voice of God speaking through his voice, his deeds, the works of God through his hands, and his life, the life of God in the soul of his son.

Mr. Parker's third book, which he calls "a Discourse of Christianity," treats of the main features and essential peculiarities of Christianity, the authority and miracles, together with the moral and religious character, of Jesus. Setting aside for the present the other topics, we wish to examine what is said of the miracles of Jesus. Most of the general considerations belonging here have been anticipated in our remarks on Inspiration. In truth the same principle lies at the foundation of both. In the one case it is God enabling the mind to gain truths, which, with its own faculties under their ordinary laws, it is not competent to gain; in the other case it is God enabling the man to perform actions, which, with his usual powers under their ordinary laws, he is not competent to perform. We shall hereafter see how, in a divine teacher like Jesus, the two, united with yet a third mode of special divine influence, all resting on the same principle, and combining to the same end, are needed, not only to secure outward success, but to fill up the inward harmony of Christ. We must proceed, however, by examining more in detail, than we have yet done, the several proofs and arguments of the work before us.

There are, we are told, p. 263, *four* sources of knowledge, *perception* for sensible things; *intuition* for spiritual things; *reflection* for logical things; and *testimony* for historical things. This is one of those passages, which, with a great appearance of philosophical exactness, are extremely loose and superficial. Testimony is not an original source of knowledge, but only a channel, through which knowledge acquired in other ways, by those who have greater opportunities or gifts than we, may be brought to us. It matters not whether the knowledge be originally acquired by perception, intuition, or reflection; in either case it may become a matter of testimony, and as such we may receive it. One, more favored than we, may see what we have not seen, and impart his knowledge to us; he may by intuition grasp truths, which our faculties of themselves are not competent to see, as Newton seized on the highest mathematical truths, and so impart them to us; or he may through a labored process arrive at important results, and, without letting us know anything of the intermediate steps, may acquaint us only with the results. Thus we may, through testimony, become acquainted with a country which we have not seen; with mathematical truths which came by intuition to our friend, but which we receive solely on

his authority ; or with principles of trade established by reasoning, which we have not examined. All this is undoubtedly true. There can be no question about it. Indeed Mr. Parker himself admits it a few pages before. If I have confidence in the faculties of my friend and in his honesty, and he tells me that he has examined a mathematical problem, which I have not the time or the ability to examine for myself, and that there can be no mistake about the result, I receive it on his testimony with almost the same confidence, as if it had been to me an intuitive truth.

Now most of the knowledge which men have is, and with the great majority of men, from the necessity of their condition, must be, received through the testimony of others. Take, for instance, mathematical truth, of which Mr. Parker makes great use in his remarks. "Its truth," he says, p. 243, "depends not on the fact that Thales or Stilpo demonstrates the theorem." Certainly not ; but my knowledge of its truth may. The demonstration may be the only means that I have of knowing that it is true. Again he says, p. 265, "Personal authority adds nothing to a mathematical demonstration." Certainly ; but it may be of some value to him, who cannot have the mathematical demonstration. And, as a fact, mathematical truths in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, where they are most usefully employed, are received on no higher evidence than the authority, or the testimony of others. How many of our seamen know anything of the doctrine of fluxions, through which tables showing the position of the planets and the stars for centuries to come have been prepared, and are depended on by them as guides, on which they are willing to rest their lives ? Or how many have examined even the demonstration of Logarithms, by which the ship every day is worked ? We are ashamed to dwell on a point so plain. But the opposite doctrine is here brought out with so much confidence, as if the whole subject rested upon it, and with such an appearance of philosophical precision, though really with a confusion of ideas, wholly unworthy of a philosophical mind, that we have felt obliged to give to it a degree of attention to which, through any merit of its own, it is by no means entitled.

To apply these remarks to the subject in hand, there is a difference between truth and *our knowledge* of truth. A want of regard to this all-important, essential distinction is,

among others, too great to be disregarded, the one paramount defect, which like a flaw on the reflector of a telescope, throws a blur over all objects, and destroys the entire value of the work, as a philosophical treatise.* "If the doctrines of Christianity," we are told, "are eternal truths, they are not *historical* things." So be it; but the knowledge of them, whether originally gained by a special revelation from God, by a supernatural awakening of the soul, or by intuitive powers beyond what have fallen to the lot of man, in any other instance, since man was formed, may be and must be, if preserved at all, a historical fact, resting on the authority of him to whom they were first communicated; unless, when once made known, they carry, as some truths do, their own evidence with them. But do they, to the world, carry their own evidence with them? Take the two truths which Mr. Parker loves best to adduce as illustrations, love to God and love to man, as the highest motives of human conduct. These, he tells us, are "matters of intuition," "proceeding from the very nature of man, and inseparable from that nature." But is this true? Why then were they so long unknown? Why did it require, after the introduction of Christianity, so long a period to raise man up to a comprehension of their power? Why, even now, while so many have them on their lips, do so few acknowledge them in their hearts? Because, Mr. Parker will reply, men do not receive them with unprejudiced minds. We admit the justice of the answer, which lies at the bottom of the subject. Men, to whom they are essential, receive mathematical truths on authority, because they are too ignorant to understand the demonstrations. Now as ignorance prevents them from receiving these truths on any other evidence than authority, so sin, — the passions, cares, anxieties, and pleasures of life, —

* "If the truth of these doctrines rest on the personal authority of Jesus, it was not a duty to observe them before he spoke." — p. 264. This want of distinction between truth and our knowledge of truth, or some of the evil consequences resulting from it, may be found in almost every chapter, obscuring the brightness of even its best things. The law of gravitation was a truth thousands of years before Newton. Does the authority of Newton's name or of his demonstrations obscure the truth which he first saw, or endanger its influence? Even so does not the authority of Jesus. It is the authority of upstarts and pretenders, not of those whose rightful office it is to guide men's minds, that obscures and endangers the truth.

prevent them from the intuitive recognition of spiritual truths. They must therefore be spoken with authority. They shine not at once into their dark souls, but must be taken and applied to practice on authority. By and by, when they have wrought their blessed work in the soul, and its better faculties are quickened into life, and the shadows have passed away, these truths will be cherished and loved for their own sakes; for their own light and beauty and strength,—commending themselves to all that is holy, and peaceful within.

The second part of the chapter on Miracles is confused, and we fear, disingenuous. The insinuation near the beginning, that those who rest on the authority of Christianity are afraid of reason, is, at least with respect to the most enlightened among them, wholly without foundation; but as to the assertion near the close, “that all these attempts to establish a suitable criterion (for discriminating between the Christian and other miracles) have been fruitless, and even worse, *exposing more than the folly of their authors*,” we hardly know how to meet it with truth, and yet with a becoming gentleness of speech. When a young man, on his own naked authority, asserts the falsehood of views entertained by the strongest minds after severe examination, and which we, on as full an investigation as we are competent to give, most firmly believe; we may admire at the modesty of the assertion; but a plain denial is all the confutation that it demands. But when in addition to this, as here and in other parts of the work before us, he uses language which, if it mean anything, brings plainly the charge of intentional falsehood or hypocrisy against some, not only of the most enlightened, but of the purest and truest minds of past ages and of the present day, he places himself in a very unenviable position, and can have no peculiar claims upon the delicacy of those who respect these great and good men. The alternative is a painful one; but we have no hesitation in putting upon it the most favorable construction that the case admits. Although such charges are as untrue in fact as they are unchristian in spirit, we do not believe that they proceed from intentional falsehood, or that “they expose more than the folly of their author.” The only excuse which the case admits is, that he does not fully understand the force and bearing of his words.

But to return to the subject under discussion. “Now,” p. 267, “if it could be shown that Christianity rested on Mira-

cles, or had more or less connexion with them, it yet proves nothing *peculiar* in the case ; for other religions, fetichistic, polytheistic, and monotheistic, appeal to the same authority." But is there no difference between what is "shown to rest on miracles," and that which only appeals to their authority? Is not this, if, according to the supposition it be really a fact, something "*peculiar*"? The fine declamation that follows rests entirely on this same fatal want of discrimination between pretension and fact. "Now," he continues, "in resting Christianity on this basis we must do one of two things ; first, we must admit that Christianity rests on the same foundation as the lowest fetichism ;" "or secondly, we must deny the reality of all miracles, except the Christian, in order to give exclusive sway to Christianity." But afterwards a *third* alternative is admitted, and we are allowed, if possible, "to prove the superiority of the Christian miracles." This alternative we accept ; and notwithstanding the accompanying charge of "more than folly" against those who pursue such a course, and the unworthy assertion, that the Hindoo miracles surpass the Christian, we maintain the superiority of the Christian miracles, first, in the evidence ; secondly, in the character of the miracles ; thirdly, in the character of him who performs them ; and fourthly, of the doctrines connected with them. Now in each and all these particulars we affirm, and our assertion is as good as the opposite assertion of Mr. Parker, that Christianity stands apart from all other religions, and has, in all these respects, a weight of authority which no other religion can justly claim.

But what is the peculiar value of miracles? Do they of themselves necessarily give the authority of a divine teacher to him who performs them? By no means. We are as little disposed to assert this as Mr. Parker. What then is their use? Let us examine the matter, and remember that in our dealings with men we must always employ such language as they can understand. Here is a man, we will suppose, who proclaims to those who have not yet received it, the doctrine of a retribution beyond the grave, and calls men to a life entirely unlike that which they have been accustomed to believe best fitted to secure the approbation of heaven. This he declares as a truth resting on its own authority, and on the authority of God who has directly revealed it to him. "But," they reply, "this is a hard saying ; we do not see its truth, and how shall we know

that you have received it from God?" "I have told you heavenly things," he replies, "but you understand them not; I will now tell you earthly things;—will speak to you in a language which you can understand." He then opens the eyes of one among them, who was born blind. He takes them to the grave of one who, they know, has been three days dead, and with a word restores the dead man to his friends. Now, this they understand. It is to them unequivocal evidence of a supernatural power. And since he shows a supernatural power, will they not—should not we—be prepared more readily to admit a supernatural illumination? Do they not harmonize with each other? Not that even this is the highest evidence. But when to this we add a blameless life,—labors endured, dangers met, the severest sufferings, mockery, reproach, the incredulity of friends, the persecution of foes, and finally death itself, all borne in so sweet a spirit, and plainly with no other object than the good of man, and when through all this there is no unnatural elation, no enthusiasm, but a beautiful serenity, a thoughtful attention, even upon the cross, to the common affections of our nature, his life the consistent and perfect expression of his doctrines, then those men have the highest evidence they can have of his divine mission, and the truth of his words. He could not be mistaken in respect to his supernatural character, for his works are an evidence to that, which cannot be withstood. He could not willingly deceive others; for, besides the miracles, his life and character, all that he has done and suffered, are inconsistent with such a thought. Then his doctrines, so pure, so high, so entirely in harmony with the sublimity of his actions, and the more than mortal elevation of his character, complete the evidence, and bring his words home to them with an authority which they can neither gainsay nor resist. Not his miracles alone, nor his character alone, nor his doctrines alone, but all combined, each shining through all, and all through each, make up a whole that cannot be overthrown. We need not say how entirely these conditions are fulfilled in Jesus; how his works, his character, and doctrines harmonize all with each, while each is pervaded by the spirit and imbued with the power of all. It is one principle which runs through all, and makes each essential to the whole. Admit one in its fulness, and the others follow as its natural associates. Take one away and the symmetry, the naturalness of the whole is lost. So completely are the doctrines of Jesus identified with his character and his works.

Let us illustrate this. "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." Put these words with the circumstances under which they were spoken into the mouth of Anaxagoras, or Plato, or any other, the greatest and best among men, and what an immeasurable disparity between the words and him who utters them? The tones which sound now like the voice of God over the grave, swelling through our hearts with more than thoughts of immortality, would lose all their grandeur. And so with his actions. Let any one else stand over the dead and utter the words, "Lazarus, come forth," and if the body should rise it would be more like the apparition of a ghost than the resurrection of a living man. But with Jesus, when in the spirit of these divine words, "I am the resurrection and the life," and still more when with that prayer, so full of the spirit of God and tenderness towards man, he stands by the grave and "cries with a loud voice; 'Lazarus come forth,' and he that was dead came forth," our hearts acknowledge the effect, as an obedience natural and due to one whose words and life carried with them an authority so divine. Again in his actions, which are not considered miraculous, as when he confronted the Pharisees in those words the most awful that ever fell on human ears, or when, though a prisoner at the bar, with all the majesty of the son of God, he replied to the Roman governor, "Thou sayest that I am a king; to this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth;" or when "he took a towel and girded himself and began to wash his disciples' feet," and after that, having ended his speech, "he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, Father, the hour is come, I have glorified thee on the earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do, and now, Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was," do we not in these words and deeds recognise a spirit and a power, at whose bidding the raging winds might sleep in silence, or the palsied limb come back to life?

This is not the influence of early associations. It is no fancy work. But in the highest moments of the soul, when we are most transformed into the image of Christ, and comprehend more than at other times what he was, then do we feel most strongly the perfect harmony, not only of his character,

his words, and works, each in itself, but of each in all, and all in each. This is a thought of vast importance. Without it we cannot properly appreciate anything connected with our Saviour. Without it his highest acts and words are presumptuous, if not profane, and his lowest come down almost to meanness; with it, both are filled out and sustained by the greatness of the spirit through which they were. The miracles by themselves are but a monstrous excrescence; but not more so than either his life or his doctrines. Each is the natural and necessary complement to the rest, and he who would separate them understands little of the beauty, greatness, and power of Jesus, or the truths he has taught.

We have been speaking of these things as pertaining to the evidences of Christianity; but this is the lowest use for which they were intended. To confine them here is like asserting, that the sole use of the sun's rays is to prove that there is a sun, while they are falling round us, filling the earth with all that is beautiful and joyous, preparing food for the hungry, and balmy airs to breathe through the sick man's lattice. Jesus came not merely to convince us of his doctrines, though faith must lie at the foundation of the work, but to quicken within us something of his divine life, and infuse something of the breath of heaven into these earth-born, care-worn hearts. And to this end, he might proclaim the doctrines of love to God and love to man, from Nova Zembla to the southernmost cape of the Pacific, from the days of Cæsar Augustus to those of Louis Philippe, and what would have been the result? A few learned or Platonic minds, — a Socrates or Plotinus, a Pico de Mirandola, and possibly a Madame de Guion, or a Fenelon, may have profited by his instructions; but the great body of mankind, — the millions who rejoiced in his light while living, and who are now singing anthems to his praise in heaven, would have been left in darkness and sin. They needed one, who, sympathizing with them as a brother, might claim their reverence by speaking to them with the authority of God, one, who might offer the forgiveness of sins and the hopes of salvation, while the beauty and holiness of his spirit should enter their hearts, and kindle into life all that is pure, and true, and lovely.

Now we well know the influence, which a claim to the miraculous has on the multitude of men. It calls their attention; awakens a feeling of awe and reverence; appeals to the

religious sentiment, and seems a connecting link between man and God. It prepares them to receive strong and lasting impressions. When associated, as this claim has often been, with false doctrines and a bad life, it flames out into the most fearful crimes. But when associated with great religious truth, and a life of holiness and love, especially in a life of voluntary suffering in attestation of truth and for the good of man, its influence may be almost without limit. It enters the heart. It regenerates and reforms the man. Through it society with all its complicated interests is fashioned anew. Now the fact, that the miraculous has such influence on the common mind, shows its fitness, if not indeed its necessity, as an element in whatever is intended for the spiritual regeneration of the world. An authority is needed to awaken and impress mankind.

And what is this authority of Jesus, about which so much is said, as if it were some opaque body, intervening between us and God, to eclipse his truth, and give to us darkness in its stead? It is a voice coincident with truth itself, calling in tones of more than human power to a slumbering and sinful world, to rouse them from their dreams and their sins, and prepare them for the truth. Where, by the example of the good, and the reasoning of the wise, the effects of truth are vain, through this supernatural authority as from God himself it calls out in louder tones, that they may open their eyes and receive its light. Thus too "it crieth at the gates, at the entry of the city, at the coming in of the doors," it knocketh at the hardened heart and in the name of God demands admittance. The bigoted and the profane may, like the juggling priests of Egypt, imitate its ways and strive to speak in its name; but they cannot put on its calm, unrestrained, and solemn majesty. To the wicked its voice is terrible, but to the pure in heart it comes gentle as the morning light. And as the flowers and plants, which all night long have been drooping in darkness, receive the first rays of the dawn, and lift up their heads, and spread out their leaves to drink in all that comes, while every fibre trembles with the awakening of a new life, and rejoices in the quickening presence of day, and gladly acknowledges its power, so the pure and humble soul, touched by the spirit of Jesus, opens itself that it may drink in all his teachings, while every faculty and affection, tremulous with new life, rejoices in the presence of this higher power. It trusts, it clings to his

authority, not with the cringing servility of the slave, but the gladsome obedience of the child.

In the authority of a spirit, so at one with God and with the truth, there is no harshness, — nothing which does not commend itself to our purest affections; for it is the authority of a divine truth, beneficence, and love, — an authority like that which reigned through the universe, when the morning stars first sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy; an authority, to those who will obey it, gentle, refreshing, like that with which the spring, with step more soft than a mother's as she approaches the cradle of her sleeping one, approaches the earth and calls forth bird and flower from the deep and deathlike repose of winter. Then prayer, and love to God and man become the joyous offering of the soul. It swells with gratitude and praise, breathing a spirit of universal kindness, dispensing light and blessings where it goes.

So much for the authority of Christianity as a miraculous dispensation. We return to Mr. Parker, p. 269–280, who treats the subject under two heads; “First, Are miracles possible? Secondly, Did they actually occur in the case of Christianity?”

“Now a miracle,” he tells us, “is one of three things;

“A transgression of all law which God has made;

“A transgression of all known laws, but obedience to a law which we may yet discover; or,

“A transgression of all law known or knowable by man, but yet in conformity with some law out of our reach.”

We do not accept any one of these definitions. I do not transgress the law of gravitation when I lift a stone. I only overrule its influence in a particular case by the exercise of a stronger power. There is no violation or transgression of the law, which acts during the whole time undisturbed. May I not in like manner, without the transgression of any law of God, if endowed with a power of which we may easily conceive, in a particular case, overrule the influence of the law of death, and rescue from the grave one already dead? Now this would be a miracle. There is nothing in its nature improbable, nothing inconsistent with an enlarged view of the law of nature or the character of God. It is the exercise of an unusual, and so far as the constitution of man is concerned, a supernatural power, in a manner which neither violates nor transgresses any of the laws of nature. Such, we suppose, was the power possessed by Jesus. This throws the whole

difficulty back on the supernatural endowment, and of course brings it under the law of inspiration, which we have already considered. And in respect to this special endowment, let it be remembered, that it implies no transgression of the laws of mind, but only something superadded, — a supernatural, or rather a special, influence, acting upon the faculties, as nature and society act upon us all. It is no transgression of the laws of a man's mind, that he has the advantage of the ablest teachers, and through them learns what few others can know. So it is no transgression of the laws of mind, if God himself, for wise purposes, which have always formed a part of his plan, condescend by special influences to guard and keep and educate a human being, awaken in him powers which to others are unknown, impart to him by a conscious revelation truths which otherwise he could not have received, and among these instructions open to him the secrets of the grave, and show him how, by a word, to feed the hungry, heal the sick, or restore the dead. All this we can conceive as taking place with no transgression of the laws, either of mind or matter. That it actually did take place, — it becomes us, who know so little of the infinite purposes of God, neither to assert nor to deny. The only excuse for framing any hypothesis on the subject is to show the folly of those, who would limit by their narrow theories the capabilities of the Almighty.

We have come, then, though by a process somewhat different, to the same conclusion with Mr. Parker, that there is no antecedent objection, nor metaphysical impossibility in the way of miracles. Or rather, if there be any truth in what we have said on inspiration, there is a very considerable probability that some such intervention would take place. But did miracles occur in the case of Christianity? We cannot enter into the historical evidence; volumes would be required for that. The whole historical argument Mr. Parker states, and overthrows in three pages, pp. 271 – 274, or, taking only what is directly applicable to the subject, in less than one page and a half. We shall quote the passage entire, numbering the several statements for convenience of reference.

“Now if we look after the *facts* of the case, we find the evidence for the Christian miracles is very scanty in extent, and very uncertain in character. We must depend on the testimony of the epistolary and the historical books of the New Testament. 1. “Now it is a notorious fact, that the genuine Epistles,

the earliest Christian documents, make no mention of any miracles performed by Jesus ; and when we consider the character of Paul, his strong love of the marvellous, the manner in which he dwells on the appearance of Jesus to him after death, it seems surprising, if he believed the other miracles, that he does not allude to them." 2. "To examine the testimony of the Gospels. Two profess to contain the evidence of eye-witnesses. But we are not certain these books came in their present shape from John and Matthew ; it is certain they were not written till long after the events related." 3. "But still more, each of them relates what the writers could not have been witness to ; so we may have nothing but hearsay and conjecture." 4. "Besides, these authors shared the common prejudice of their times, and disagree one with the other. The Gospels of Mark and Luke—who were not eye-witnesses—in some points corroborate the testimony of John and Matthew ; in others add nothing." 5. "But there are still other accounts—the Apocryphal Gospels—some of them perhaps older than the Gospels of Matthew and John, and these make the case worse by disclosing the fondness for miracles that marked the Christians of that early period." 6. "Taking all these things into consideration, and remembering that the three first Gospels are but one witness, adding the current belief of the times in favor of miracles, the evidence to prove their historical reality is almost nothing, admitting we have the genuine books of the disciples." 7. "It is such evidence as would not be considered of much value in a court of justice."—pp. 272, 273.

We do not hesitate to pronounce this the most singular assumption, or series of assumptions,—the most authoritative, magisterial way of settling a question involving in the full examination a vast amount of labor and care, that we remember ever to have met. Let us examine, however, the assertions separately as they are numbered.

1. Admitting that the epistles do mention no miracle performed by Jesus ; does the inference, that the apostles, that Paul, for example, did not believe them, follow ? We ask our readers to take up any one of Paul's epistles,—that to the Ephesians for instance, or the Galatians,—and read it through with special reference to the object which he had in writing it ; and see whether on the ground, that he believed in miracles, he had then any occasion to mention them. He was writing to men, who, from the occasional reference* which he makes to

* Rom. xv. 19 ; 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28 ; xiii. 1, 2, 8 ; 2 Cor. xii. 12 ; Gal. iii. 6.

signs and wonders, which had been wrought among them, we know, must have been familiar with miracles; and from some expressions,* it would seem, were disposed to attach quite value enough to them. Where, then, on the supposition, that both he and they were alike convinced of them, was the occasion for mentioning the miracles of Jesus? Paul was an earnest, straight-forward man, and had in each of these epistles an object entirely different from that of teaching what, if true, must have been perfectly well known, the miracles of Jesus. When, however, his purpose seems to require any allusion of the kind, he refers to the resurrection † of Jesus, which must have stood out as the seal and consummation of all. And here we would ask, whether any one can read the Epistles; whether of Paul, or Peter, or John, and not feel that everywhere the miraculous, supernatural character of the Saviour is implied, though they do not stop to assert it, any more than they stop to assert the light of day.

2. "We are not certain these books came in their present shape from John and Matthew." As to the Gospel of Matthew we know that it has been a question whether it was originally written in Hebrew or Greek, and that doubts exist as to the genuineness of a portion of the first two chapters. But as to all that is important to our present purpose, and as to the entire Gospel of John, with the exception of a few verses, in themselves of no value, we are as certain of their being the genuine works of those writers, as we can be of any such fact. We have recently, though with another object than that we now have, been looking into this subject; and have been surprised anew at the full, and to our mind, perfectly satisfactory character of the evidence, which has been brought to bear upon the genuineness of the gospels.‡ It has seemed to us

* See particularly Chapters xii. and xiii. of 1 Corinthians.

† Is Mr. Parker quite sure of being correct when he asserts, p. 274, that the Resurrection was a miracle alleged to have been wrought upon Jesus, not by him? That spirit while in the body could raise others from the grave;—might it not, by the same power, after leaving the body, return and reanimate its lifeless nerves? This supposition seems to us equally in harmony with an enlarged philosophy, and with the words of Jesus; "I have power to lay it [my life] down, and I have power to take it again." John x. 18.

‡ See Lardner's Credibility and especially Norton on the Genuineness of the Gospels. We know not where to find a better illustration, than is furnished by this latter work and the work before us, of the difference between a great scholar and a great reader.

that we needed only to have it clearly in our minds to be fully and entirely convinced.

3. "But still more, each one of them relates what the writers could not have been witness to; so we may have nothing but hearsay and conjecture." Is it possible that any one can so far impose upon himself, as to believe this a fair statement, or anything like a fair inference from the statement? The utmost that can be said is, that each one of them relates *something* which the writer could not have been witness to; while other things, and among them the most important miracles, we know (admitting, as Mr. Parker here does, the writings to be genuine) that both Matthew and John did witness. For example, at the healing of the blind man and the raising of Lazarus, at the feeding of the multitudes and walking upon the sea, express mention is made of the disciples as then present. So that from the circumstances of the case it is not possible that "we have only hearsay and conjecture." As a remark more to the purpose, and besides with some coloring of truth, it might have been said that Matthew and John seldom testify to the same miracle, which is, however, accounted for by the fact, that the Gospel of John was written after the others, and intended particularly to supply what was omitted in them.

4. "Besides these authors (Matthew and John) . . . disagree one with the other." This statement is entirely without foundation. The feeding of the multitudes, walking on the sea, the anointing of Jesus' feet, his triumphant entrance to Jerusalem, with some of the particulars connected with the last supper, with Judas, with the examination before the high-priest and Pilate, and a remark or two about the crucifixion and the resurrection, are all the facts which they have in common, and down to the minutest particulars the two accounts perfectly harmonize, with two trifling and, it may be, only apparent exceptions.* Indeed we know not how a more exact coincidence

* Math. xxvii. 28, says, they "put round him a scarlet robe," while John, xix. 5, says, Jesus came forth, wearing "the purple mantle." The two Greek words which are translated, "scarlet," and "purple," are, however, in the original employed sometimes to express the same color. Matthew says, "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness &c." while John says, it was "about the sixth hour," when Pilate delivered him up to be crucified. The difference at the utmost is very small; some of the MSS. of John read, instead of the "sixth" the "third hour;" but the probable explanation is, that John, writing, as is

could be required. Whatever may be said of alleged discrepancies between the four evangelists, Mr. Parker puts himself strongly at variance with fact in bringing the charge against Matthew and John ; and we can account for it only by supposing that it was made entirely at random. But how can a man, who has taken upon himself the office of a public teacher, and is guided by the love of truth, permit himself on a subject so important to make so reckless an assertion, especially when, as in this case, a careful examination of two hours must have convinced him of the falsehood of what he is saying ?

5. " But there are still other accounts" &c. This " perhaps," insinuates what there is every reason, which the case admits, for believing is not true. Besides we have long believed, and nothing has done so much as an examination of the spurious works themselves to impress the conviction upon us, that it would be difficult to show in any way more decidedly the difference between truth and falsehood, — between real and feigned miracles, — or real and factitious accounts of miracles, than the broad and striking difference between the genuine and the Apocryphal Gospels. They have been translated and published in a cheap form ; and if the insinuation here awakens in any one a doubt, we would advise as the most effectual remedy to procure them, and read them, in connexion with our Gospels. We could no more mistake them one for another, than we could mistake the monstrous, staring wax-figures of a cheap Museum for real specimens of living men.

6. " Remembering that the three first Gospels are but one witness." How " but one witness" ? The Gospel of Luke is certainly an independent work, not taken from the writings of Matthew, but, he expressly declares, " as they delivered them unto him, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." He, living as he did, on the spot, with the apos-

evident from many expressions in his book, for those unacquainted with Jewish customs, employed the Roman notation of time, which was the same as ours, while the other evangelists employed the Jewish, who began the day at six o'clock ; so that according to John, Jesus was condemned at about six in the morning, put upon the cross (Mark xv. 25) at nine ; while the darkness began at twelve, and Jesus expired at three in the afternoon. This apparent disagreement, but real harmony, is one of those undesigned proofs, which should go a great way to establish the genuineness of the writing and the sincerity of the writer.

tles and early associates of Jesus, must have possessed the means of knowing the truth of his statements, and may therefore be regarded as a judge, who in his charge embodies the substance of the testimony of many witnesses. As to Mark, though much of his gospel may have been taken from that of Matthew, he was the associate of Peter, and through him must have known whether or not the facts he related were true ; so that we have, not two, but four distinct and independent witnesses.

7. "The evidence to prove their reality is almost nothing, admitting we have the genuine books of the disciples. It is such evidence as would not be considered of much value in a court of justice." We cannot but think this allusion to what would be "considered of value in a court of justice" singularly unfortunate. It has been our privilege, either personally or otherwise, to know something of most of the prominent lawyers of New-England, a class of men certainly remarkable for strong intelligence, and manliness of character. And of this number we can call to mind hardly more than one or two distinguished men, who have not received the Christian miracles on evidence, which, we are here told, "would not be considered of much value in a court of justice." Nor has this been a blind assent, without investigation. We have often conversed upon the subject with one, in legal acuteness, learning, and fearless exactness in the examination of evidence, inferior to no one who preceded or followed him, as Chief-Justice of the State in which he lives, who has paid through a long life particular attention to inquiries of this kind, and he has always expressed himself thoroughly convinced, from the evidence in the case, of the truth of the Christian miracles. We once heard it distinctly asserted in a public meeting by an eminent legal authority in our own State, that the evidence, if properly presented to any unprejudiced jury of twelve men, must convince them that the facts are as they are related in the Gospels. Chief Justice Parsons, who has generally been supposed to know something of what "would be considered of value in a court of justice," was a firm believer in the Christian miracles. And with him, to use the language of Chief Justice Parker, who may therefore be considered as endorsing it with his own name, "it* was the result of a *trial* of witnesses, in which professional

* Massachusetts Reports, Vol. X., pp. 538, 539.

acuteness was aided by native powers of discrimination." "About three months before he died," he continues in a note, "I had a conversation with him upon the subject of the Christian religion, and particularly upon the proofs of the resurrection contained in the New Testament. He told me, that he felt the most perfect satisfaction on that subject; that he had once taken it up with a view to ascertain the weight of evidence, by comparing the accounts given by the four Evangelists with each other; and that from their agreement in all substantial and important facts, as well as their disagreement in minor circumstances — considering them all as separate and independent witnesses, giving their testimony at different periods, he believed that the evidence would be considered perfect, if the question was tried at any human tribunal." Now shall we take the testimony of these men as to what "would be considered of value in a court of justice," or set it aside, and receive in its stead the bare assertion of Mr. Parker? We wish it to be remembered, that we have not brought up the authority of these men as an evidence of the truth of the Christian miracles, but only as a counter-testimony to the unsustained and unqualified assertion of a work, which, whatever may be its rhetorical merits, exhibits as little acuteness in the sifting of evidence, as it does accuracy in the statement of facts, or clear, discriminating skill in the use of argument.

But while the fact above stated furnishes little direct evidence for the Christian miracles, it indirectly suggests a consideration, which we cannot think wholly without weight. No class of men in the community have been so little skeptical with reference to miracles, as they who are most accustomed to weigh the evidence of facts, while men whose lives are passed in abstractions, and who are thus in a measure disqualified for the investigation of facts, are usually either exceedingly credulous or as unreasonably incredulous. Is there not here, in its adaptation to all classes of minds, a strong presumption for the truth of Christianity? The man of facts finds there facts resting on evidence which he cannot resist; the man of abstract thought finds there principles which to his mind cannot be overthrown; and the poor woman, who is conversant neither with facts nor principles, but who has a religious heart, feels there an assurance which all the evidence of the courts and philosophy of the schools could neither shake nor confirm. Now error is based on ignorance; but truth on what we know;

and the fact, that each rests his faith on that evidence which he most fully understands, not only furnishes a strong presumption that Christianity is true, but also that each particular kind of proof has in it something that is real. If the man of facts rested his faith on abstract principles which he does not understand, or the man of abstract thought on facts which he has not the skill to examine, and the religious heart, without knowledge or thought, instead of an inward assurance which cannot doubt, rested its faith on the learning of others, well might we question the reality of each and the truth of that which rests upon them all. But now it is not so. Why then this exclusive bigotry, which may exist as fierce and strong out of the church as in it? While resting on the evidence we best understand, and which brings the strongest assurance to our minds, why should we cry out and tear away from others the supports which give to them the same assurance that ours affords to us? Christianity, Mr. Parker tells us from beginning to end, will stand, though miracles fall. Will it not also stand, if miracles are true? Why, then, with so exclusive and overbearing efforts, labor to throw them down?

We have not been in the habit of insisting upon miracles alone as *the* evidence of our religion. It is the three-fold cord that is not easily broken. The one central principle of more than human brightness and power showed itself through Jesus Christ, in works which appeal to the senses and the understanding, in doctrines which address themselves to the highest reason and the conscience, in a life which comes home to the religious sentiment and the heart. Of two of these manifestations under the names of inspiration and miracle we have already spoken. We wish now to add a few words in respect to the third.

The life of Jesus is not less an evidence of a special super-human endowment, than either his inspiration or his miracles. The bare conception of such a life, going so vastly beyond all that has been conceived before or since, is something that we could not explain on the common principles of human nature. Though all historical evidence were lost, and only the Gospels remained, with no proof except that they had been in existence for eighteen hundred years, all that we know of man, all that he has done or conceived in works of imagination and art, would furnish no solution to the problem of the conception of such a life. The more we should study other attempts to por-

tray a perfect man, the more should we be struck by the infinite superiority of this. But when we learn that such a life actually was lived ; that the poor son of a carpenter, born in a manger, subject like other children to his parents, — without instructors and without books, — among the most exclusive and prejudiced of the human race, a people bound down by rites and forms and low traditions, — pursuing himself a laborious calling, and submitting to all the requirements of the law, — that a youth thus born and nurtured should at once throw off all these shackles, and with a single step advance beyond what the highest conceptions of the world, through two thousand years of progress have been able to realize even in thought, so that those among men, who have advanced farther in all that is pure and great and true, have even been most ready to bow down and acknowledge in him a purity, and greatness, and truth beyond their utmost reach of fancy, or of thought, — this we must say is to us the greatest miracle of all, and prepares us to admit all that is said of his marvellous works, as the easy and natural accompaniments of a life so high. Prophets might foretell, and angels announce his birth. Wise men from afar might bring gold, frankincense, and myrrh, and kings lie in wait to take the young child's life ; a voice from heaven might as he came up from out the water exclaim, This is my beloved son, hear ye him. Disease and death might obey his call, the winds be stilled, and hungering multitudes feed upon his word. And when he bowed himself upon the cross, the veil of the temple, which obscures the holy of holies, might be rent, and the sun refuse to give his light, and the grave that received him give back its trust. These are but the natural attendants upon such a life. It is *itself* the greatest miracle of all. We do not say that each and all of these events did so take place. But while we have before us the life, whose reality no one can dispute, it seems to us a small thing to say of this or that particular act, it could not so have been. And still more unreasonable to suppose that in explaining them all away, we have stript off all that was marvellous, and that required a special intervention of the Almighty. It is at the most only tearing away the fitting drapery which God has thrown around the diviner life of his son.

But however it may be in this, in another point of view, this matter of rejecting the miracles is exceedingly important. We acquire our knowledge of this divine life only through the wri-

tings of the New Testament; and to reject the miracles is either to destroy all confidence in them as truthful narratives, or to introduce a looseness of interpretation, which takes from language all its meaning. It mars the beauty of that divine life, and makes Jesus a monstrous composition of the highest truth and purity of character, mingled up with pretensions which have no foundation but in falsehood. The seamless garment is soiled with the stains of sin, and torn in sunder. For without the utmost violence in the interpretation, much of the language and conduct of Jesus cannot mean anything, unless it mean to claim for himself such a union with God, and such a power and mission from him, as other men have not. How for instance can we deny, as Mr. Parker does, p. 274, the resurrection of Jesus, without at the same time denying his truthfulness, or the honesty of his disciples, either of which is wholly inconsistent with the purity of the life which they have described?

The remainder of the third book is taken up with Mr. Parker's views of Christ and his religion, and contains many high and inspiring thoughts, such as it does us good to meet. But connected with them are thoughts as narrow, exclusive, dogmatic, unphilosophical, and unkind, as they are repugnant to the feelings of almost every Christian heart. It is impossible by argument to put down a sneer, and as to meeting such things in another way, retorting scorn for scorn, it might be easy, but it is not well.

The fourth book is a discourse of the Bible. But as it is only a sketch, supported by frequent reference to a Translation from De Wette, which Mr. Parker tells us "will probably come before the public in a few months," we shall confine ourselves to a few general remarks, with such illustrations as the present work may furnish.

1. We would remind those, who may read Mr. Parker's work, that general assertions without proof are entitled to no respect. We have already examined some of his assertions; a few more will now be added. "The story of Lazarus, and even that of the Ascension, is not without its parallels." p. 362. "We see that they (the Evangelists) contradict one another, and even themselves; that they mingle with their story puerile notions and tales which it is charitable to call absurd." p. 249 "It is easy to show, if we have the words of Jesus, that he was mis-

taken in some points, in the interpretation of the Old Testament, in the doctrine of demons, in the celebrated prediction of his second coming and the end of the world, within a few years. If Christianity rest on his authority, and that alone, it falls when the foundation falls, and that stands at the mercy of a school-boy." p. 266. These may serve as specimens of the assertions without reference or proof, with which the whole work abounds. A man, who has so little respect for authority as Mr. Parker, can hardly expect us to receive these with no other voucher for their truth than his word. Such naked dogmatism deserves to be met only by dogmatism. He asserts these things; we deny them; and our word in this case is as good as his, neither being good for anything. Indeed this attempt of his to destroy, and of ours to uphold, the authority of Jesus, is like the attempt of eastern jugglers with their noisy drums, one to put out, and the other to preserve, the sun, which, unmindful alike of both, rolls and shines on in his triumphant course.

It is a hard thing to meet charges which are not specified. No man would be safe, even "in a court of justice," if such evidence were admitted. A plain denial is all the confutation they are entitled to; but, lest any may think otherwise, we will give two or three examples more, and such answers as the case may allow. "In the very Law itself, (of Moses), we find traces of Feticism. The prohibition of certain kinds of food, garments, and sacrifices; the forms of divination, the altars, feasts, sacrifices, scapegoat, the ornaments of the priests' dress, all seem to have grown out of the rude worship that formerly prevailed. The old idolatry was spiritualized." p. 104. Is Mr. Parker so well acquainted with all the circumstances of the times, as to come with any degree of certainty to this conclusion? Our inquiries have led to directly the opposite inference. We believe that the prohibition of certain kinds of food, garments, and sacrifices, and the institution of others, where they were not intended for health and comfort, far from growing out of the old idolatry, were really intended, in most instances, to prevent their falling back into it. Many particulars, if we had room, might be pointed out illustrative of this, as, for instance, the sacrifice of oxen and sheep, which were worshipped by the Egyptians as gods.*

"The somewhat doubtful book of Ecclesiastes ** denies the

* See Palfrey's Academical Lectures.

immortality of the soul with great clearness." p. 346. We have examined the book, and find no such denial, unless in one of the following passages; "All [men and beasts] go unto one place: all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, or the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth." iii. 20, 21. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." xii. 7.

2. Where passages of Scripture are specified, we are never to receive the construction which the work before us puts upon them, or the inferences it may draw from them, without a careful examination of the passages themselves, and the facts we may find alleged respecting them. Out of many illustrations equally remarkable we select a few.

"Jacob drives a trade with Elohim;* the God receives a *human* as adequate return for his own *divine* service. The promise by each is only 'for value received.'" As evidence of this we are referred to Gen. xxviii. 10-12. We earnestly entreat any one, who may read this article, to turn to the passage and read the entire account. We are wholly unable to see anything that may warrant the application of such language, and as little to justify what follows. "Sometimes God is represented as a local deity; Jacob is surprised to find him in a foreign land." p. 250. Here was a youth, almost in the infancy of the world, cast out from his father's house, wandering alone through a strange land, way-worn and sick at heart. At the approach of night, in utter loneliness, he lays his head upon a stone, and, as he sleeps, there appears a vision of angels ascending and descending before him; and from above, the voice of the Lord calling to him and promising to enrich him with his blessings. He suddenly awakes, and, in the first trembling moment of surprise, exclaims, "surely the Lord was in this place and I knew it not. How dreadful is this place. 'This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.'" We have read the passage an hundred times, and found it always instructive, and impressive, containing the assurance that wherever the outcast may lay himself down to rest, there God and his angels watch over him. As to the assertion that "the God received a *human* as

* The Hebrew name for God.

adequate for his own *divine* service," and that "the promise of each is only 'for value received,'" there is not, — and we earnestly request each one to examine for himself, — the slightest shadow for any such inference. Whatever may be the excited language of the surprised youth, there is no assent to any such agreement on the part of the Divinity. This passage Mr. Parker finds so instructive, or so fruitful in impiety, that he refers to it in four different places, pp. 68, 99, 103, 350.

"This prophet [Ezekiel] predicts (xxvi) that Nebuchadnezzar shall destroy Tyre. The prediction is clear and distinct; the destruction is to be complete and total. But it was not so. Nebuchadnezzar *was obliged to raise the siege after investing the city for thirteen years*, and go and fight the Egyptians. Then sixteen years after the first oracle, *Ezekiel takes back his own words.*" * * "Nebuchadnezzar [Ezek. xxix. 18.] * * * caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus, &c., *yet he had no wages, nor his army from Tyrus.*" — pp. 340, 341. We ask that particular notice should be paid to the unqualified assertions about raising the siege of Tyre, and the prophet "taking back his own words." Now we undertake to say that there is no historical authority whatever for the first assertion, and that the second is as utterly without foundation. The authors, to whom reference is made, give no countenance to the boldness of the assertion. The utmost that can be said, is that there is not sufficient historical testimony to prove the taking of the city, while there is no historical testimony to show that it was not taken. And if, as Jerome asserts, when the city was taken the inhabitants with their valuable effects escaped in ships, the language of Ezekiel, that the conquering army had "no wages of Tyre," is fully explained.

The book of Daniel, he tells us, "among other grotesque fancies, that remind us of the Arabian Nights, and the Talmud," "contains an account * * of a man *transformed into a beast*, and eating grass like an ox for some years, and then *restored to human shape.*" We ask our readers to turn to the account in the fourth chapter of Daniel, and see whether it implies anything more than a man deprived of reason, wandering naked among the fields, in his insanity eating grass, — esculent vegetables of almost any kind — as oxen, permitting his nails to grow out as birds' claws, exposed to sun and dew, till his body, as we have

sometimes seen on parts thus exposed, had become covered with hair, the appearance of which, as he crouched wild and naked in the fields, was, as it had been, the feathers of a bird. No allusion is made to his being transformed into the shape of a beast, or *restored to the shape of a man*. "But at the end of the days I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted up my eyes to heaven, and my *understanding returned to me*, and I blessed the Most High." Dr. Noyes, who evidently attaches no particular importance to the interpretation, except from a reverence for the truth, says of this passage, "a description, somewhat figurative, of insanity."

Other passages of a similar kind press upon us; such, for instance, as this, that "the first commandment of the decalogue implies the existence of other Gods." In the book before us, p. 71, we read, "The efforts to learn the will of the Gods leads to the study of nature." Does this sentence from Mr. Parker imply the existence of other Gods? But we must close our remarks under this head, only adding that the passages we have commented upon have been taken almost at random. What then is the confidence to be given to this work, as one that would truly expound the meaning, or sit in judgment on the merits, of the Scriptures?

It will be far safer for us to go to the Scriptures and examine them for ourselves without fear. In this as in other matters our fears often create that which seems most dreadful. And as we are to remain without fear, so also without rashness. The temerity of Don Quixote, going forth determined to put down giants and dragons, sees as many spectres as the timidity of his companion. Let us then engage in our inquiry without fear, and at the same time with that modest reverence, which lends so sweet a charm to him who knows no fear but the fear of doing wrong.

Setting out with this feeling there are some very important considerations which we must bear always in mind.

1. We must remember the effect which different habits of thought, different pursuits and influences, an age so remote, with customs which we very imperfectly understand, must have upon language. We know how often our meaning is perverted by those who do not understand our peculiar views and feelings, or the circumstances under which our words are spoken. The perversion, where it seems most cruel, may be wholly unintentional, and the construction which, in their situation, with

their thoughts and the coloring their feelings give, may naturally belong to our words. But when, in addition to this, they, to whom our words come, are placed in circumstances entirely different from ours, in a different country, with different pursuits, and a language in its whole structure so unlike, with little knowledge of those invisible and unspoken influences which go to form our minds, we see at once how entirely a translation of our words may fail to convey our thoughts, and how different, how directly opposite often, will be the meaning that is put upon them. Suppose, for instance, our daily discourse, our wisest laws, our loftiest poetry, literally translated into the language of the Sandwich Islands. How much of our meaning would they understand? How would they laugh at the folly of our legislative enactments, and cry out in wonder at the nonsense or absurdity found in the sublimest passages of Shakespeare or Milton? Applying these remarks to the Hebrew writings, we are to expect to find in them many provisions and expressions which convey to us no meaning, or a meaning foolish even and absurd. But if we find there, in language which cannot be explained away, the great essential truths of all religion, — the Omnipotence, the Wisdom and Holiness of God, with his constant and watchful care over all the children of men, — are we not to be very cautious about condemning as foolish or absurd expressions and provisions contained in the same writings, and having reference to a condition of society and a state of mind which we very imperfectly understand?

2. We are to bear in mind that every revelation from God must, in its ideas and language, be adapted to the capacity of those for whom it was intended, and must be considered with reference, not only to the infinite intelligence from which it comes, but the limited capacity of those for whom it is intended. The struggling, discolored rays, that find their way into some dark cavern, come really from the sun, and their dimness proves nothing against the purity of their source. Perfect in their origin, they are now what the imperfect media, through which they were obliged to pass, have made them. Now as to one in the cavern the slender ray, as far as it tells anything, tells the truth, but leaves to him much of his former darkness, and even gives rise in his mind to new and mistaken thoughts, while a full and sudden influx of light would entirely extinguish the organs of vision; so to man an early revelation of God, adapted to his yet undeveloped faculties, though true in itself,

must leave to him much of his former ignorance and mistaken thought, and even, by the new light it sheds, lead to new and mistaken conjectures, which are confounded with the revelation itself. And yet a perfect revelation, so far in advance of his faculties, could not be received, or, if received, might entirely overwhelm him. This consideration alone, without throwing a doubt upon their being such a revelation from God, will account for most of the important distinctions between the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, and indeed for the general progress of ideas which we find in the Hebrew writings from the time of Moses to that of Jesus. There are single passages in the writings of Moses, which show conceptions of the divine nature as sublime as anything in the Psalms, the Prophets, or the Gospels; but the general character of the language is far behind. This is a strong testimony to the genuineness of the earliest Jewish records. They are the history of the child, written by the child; the history of a revelation or succession of revelations, handed down by those to whom they were given. And when the fulness of time had come, and man was ready, and human language, that wonderful creation and preservative of thought, had become the safe and sufficient depository of a religion, universal in its character, adapted to all men and all times, then came that higher revelation, at whose advent all that has come before should be only as the first feeble pulse of day, when the sun is risen.

All from first to last were rays from heaven, but the human ignorance and imperfections, which in all ages must affect the popular language, the religious rites, in short all the symbols of worship, and which still, even to the brightest minds, obscure the fulness of that glory, which encircles our religion, must not be forgotten in the interpretation we would put upon them. The revelation must be adapted, not only to the character of God, but to the necessities of man. In the Mosaic writings we find views of the divine nature, the unity, omnipotence, wisdom, and holiness of God, which the mind of man can never outgrow, and connected with them the principles of a perfect morality, — justice, truth, kindness, — which can never pass away. But how shall these perfect ideas of moral and religious duty be impressed on a people, who, having just escaped from the most depressing bondage, were in that lower than the lowest stage of civilization, which is superinduced on a primitive people by a long and painful subjection to a nation

before them in knowledge, but cruel, superstitious, idolatrous, and depraved? The revelation is of no use unless it can be enforced. But it cannot even be understood, unless expressed in a language adapted to the people, and then it will make no impression, unless embodied in rites and ceremonies and forms adapted to their rude condition. We have been told by one who afterwards dwelt among them, that when a large ship first came in sight of the inhabitants of one of the rudest of the South Sea Islands, as they were fishing in their canoes, most of them took no notice of it whatever, and those who looked up turned back to their occupation. It was so entirely beyond their comprehension that they could not even wonder. But had a boat's crew come to them and showed them some improvement in the mode of catching fish, they would have been all attention. So does the Almighty, adapting the form of his instructions to the capacity of his children, dispensing his truth in language, imperfect indeed, but which imparts to them as much as they are able to receive. He does not by one universal miracle transform a rude people into enlightened and faithful Christians, but exacts of them such a service as they are able to understand and give. We know how slowly the world has been rising to the Christian standard. God pardons something to the weakness of his children. "Moses permitted it because of the hardness of their hearts." God, even in a divine revelation, permits many things to those who cannot yet understand a more perfect rule.

Now this consideration, which rests on the principles of a true philosophy, will, we believe, cover all the cases in the Mosaic writings, which would seem to give an unworthy view of the divine nature, or to allow actions which might well shock our feelings if performed now, when men have been elevated by a higher dispensation, and by a progress of four thousand years.

In reference to the nature of God, we find in these writings the purest and loftiest expressions which have yet been used. Poets and philosophers, though living under the Christian dispensation, and aided by the light and intelligence of the world, have been able to add nothing of truth or sublimity to that first definition which God gave of himself to Moses on the plains of Midian, "I AM THAT I AM; thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." I AM! Let any one in his highest moments dwell on these words, and try

to add anything to them as an expression of the divine nature. Language, thought, emotion, the still, ecstatic rapture of the soul can rise no higher. And so also with respect to the moral attributes of God, his justice, truth, holiness. Now these, the highest thought, we are to take as the revelation of God, shining in upon the soul of his chosen prophet; and if what seem to us lower views are sometimes found, let us not turn away in scorn and pronounce them false or absurd, but inquire whether they are not rather the attempt to explain by familiar images and forms of speech, truths too high to be otherwise conveyed to the child.

Under this head are to be placed all the expressions which attribute to God a human form or human feelings; as, the "arm of God;" "the eye of God;" "the Lord thy God is a jealous God;" "lest the anger of the Lord thy God be kindled against you;" "if I whet my glittering sword, and mine arm take hold on judgment." These are only such forms of speech as the people were able to understand. To this class may be referred the passage, (Numbers xiv.) on which Mr. Parker, pp. 331-334, comments with such indignation, introducing it with the sneering remark, that it is "an account too significant to be passed over," and dismissing it with the assertion that "this story no amount of evidence could make possible." We were not aware before that evidence had anything to do *ever* with making any story *possible*, though it might in some cases have an influence on our belief. But really, in the chapter to which reference is made, we see very little occasion for these three pages of declamation. The facts, as nearly as we can understand them from the Mosaic account, are these. The children of Israel, having, by a series of most extraordinary miracles, been delivered from a cruel bondage, are led, as by the visible hand of God, to the borders of a land which their fathers possessed, and to which they never have given up their right of inheritance. But upon reaching this land, notwithstanding the constant assurances of God, and all that he has done for them, they distrust him, and are thrown into the utmost consternation. Moses, seeing that this panic must, according to the established laws of God, lead to inevitable destruction, though he and his children, from his superior wisdom, may escape and realize in themselves the promises of future greatness, which he knows must be fulfilled, beseeches God by all that he has done and all that is known

of him among the surrounding nations, to avert the threatened ruin. His request is answered. But since these men, tainted by the unworthy spirit, the timidity, the sordid and idolatrous fears, of their early associations, are unfit to be established in a country with a government of their own, it is added that they must wander yet many years in the wilderness, till they have all perished, and their children, educated under higher influences, should be prepared to enter the promised land. These are the facts as we might relate them. But a plain statement, like this, would have been wholly unintelligible to them, and therefore Moses, in language figurative and impassioned, with a strong personification of God, which might fill them with awe, tells them of their escape from the destruction which in the natural providence of God must have befallen, and of the hardships which still from their unfaithfulness must attend them. We ask any one to turn to the passage, and, bearing in mind the circumstances of the case, see whether this interpretation rests on any very forced and unnatural construction of the language. Certain we are that is not so much at variance either with the facts or the language, as the construction put upon it in the work before us. But if, after all, it seems a hard passage, let us remember, besides what is said above of the difficulties we must expect, that this has been selected from all the books of the law as the most difficult to reconcile with the character of God.

Again, with respect to the moral character of certain acts, we are to judge of the divine revelation by the perfect principles which are laid down; and if particular acts fall below these, we are to regard them as what was permitted, because the people could not yet understand a higher rule. But as to these acts, which are held up as instances of crime or atrocious cruelty, and which might well shock us if performed by a civilized people now, let us remember, what we believe is perfectly true, that all so far as allowed by Moses were, in humanity and justice, greatly above the standard of their times, and that Moses, in the regulations respecting them, far from sanctioning crime, was, by these very regulations, restraining them from the worse crimes and more atrocious cruelties which were then customary. Under this head we would bring up what Mr. Parker several times alludes to in no measured terms of indignation and contempt, we mean the Destruction of the Canaanites; but really the matter has been so often

and so clearly explained, that we cannot find it in our hearts to go over the ground anew. We will barely refer, as we might for a confutation of most of Mr. Parker's severe remarks upon the Scriptures, to Bishop Watson's "Apology for the Bible, in a series of letters addressed to Thomas Paine, author of the book entitled the Age of Reason, being an investigation of true and fabulous Theology." *

We have spoken of the adaptation of language in the Mosaic writings to the capacity of the people for whom they were intended. But simple as the language is, we must not forget that it contains the germs of the highest truths that have yet opened upon the world. The subject is so important as to demand further illustration. Take, for instance, the doctrine of a divine Providence as it appears to us at different periods of life. In the child God is present with many of the attributes of a man, speaking in the thunder, loving him as a father, angry with him when he sins, watching over him in darkness. But by and by he finds that God is not thus present; that the whole world is carried on by laws, and that through these laws, as something between himself and them, God is providing for the wants of all. But in a more advanced stage of thoughts he begins to inquire what these laws are; and finds that they have no life or power of their own, that they are in fact only a name for the established mode in which God acts upon and reveals himself to his creatures. He now takes a larger view of the divine Providence, uniting the faith of his childhood to the more enlightened thought of the man, so that God is now directly present, revealing himself directly to him, watching over him, but in conformity with the established laws of his being. This is the highest view that man yet has reached.

But through all these different stages of thought the one idea of a divine superintending Providence has been unchanged, and

* For a clear, judicious, and satisfactory account of this, and other matters of a similar kind authorized by Moses, we would refer particularly to Dr. Palfrey's Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures. To much that is contained in these Lectures we do not assent; but the great difficulties which lie in the way of our respect for the Law of Moses are there met with great fairness, discrimination, and ability. For valuable remarks on the war with the Midianites and the expulsion of the Canaanites, see Vol. I. xvii. and xviii. For some judicious remarks in a more popular form, on the expulsion of the Canaanites, and other subjects, see a very unpretending, but instructive volume, entitled, "Observations on the Bible for the use of young persons."

shall continue unchanged, when from a yet higher intellectual point of view, we shall see clouds of error hovering round what now seems our full and perfect thought. The same holds true with respect to the essential truths of religion as presented in the different parts of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, accompanied everywhere by the errors, which must belong to the different stages of human intelligence, yet everywhere the same essential truths. Now this progressive influence of truth from the Scriptures, as from nature, advancing with the mind that receives it, filling the capacity of the child, and filling the capacity of the man, is one of the strongest internal proofs, that the case admits, of their being what they purport to be, records of a divine revelation. The subject has been noticed by one of the Fathers. "And even those hopeful little ones," he says, "whoso think, have this benefit, that the words of thy book do not affright them, delivering high thoughts lowly. But now, being yet little ones and carnal, while their weakness is by this humble sort of speech carried on as in a mother's bosom, their faith is wholesomely built up. Which words, if any despising as too simple, with a proud weakness, shall stretch himself beyond the guardian nest, he will, alas! fall miserably. Have pity, O Lord God, lest they who go by the way trample on the unfledged bird, and send thine angel to replace it in the nest, that it may live till it can fly. But others, unto whom these words are no longer a nest, but deep, shady fruit-bowers, see the fruits concealed therein, fly joyously around, and, with cheerful notes, seek and pluck them."*

3. In addition to all that we have said above, it must be remembered that we can pronounce judgment on the moral character of no act, unless we take into view all the important circumstances of the case, and know something of the spirit in which it was performed. As the strongest illustration under this head, we would mention the proposed sacrifice of Isaac by his father, at the most distant thought of which, Mr. Parker's "flesh creeps with horror."† "A father," he exclaims in reference to it, p. 138, "murder his own child, — a human sacri-

* See Augustine, *Confessions*, Lib. xii. We have read this book through with great care, and cannot think it sustains Mr. Parker in the object for which he, p. 331, has referred to it, as showing the opinion of Augustine that "the Bible means anything it can be made to mean."

† *Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, p. 20.

fice to the Lord of life! It is rebellion against Conscience, Reason, Affection; treason against God." The passage from which this is quoted may contain some very fine declamation; but is it based on solid truth? Is the thought of a father sacrificing his child to God one which can, under no circumstances, be "a fact unless God is the author of confusion and a lie?" Is life, this mortal life, the most sacred of all gifts, that man may never give it up at the command of God? What then shall we say of those martyrs to truth and God, who joyfully gave up their lives and the lives of those nearest and dearest to their hearts, rather than stain at all the purity of their souls? Was it not a high, a holy, a religious act, — fathers giving up their own lives and the lives even of their children, rather than deny truths more precious and enduring than life, — giving back to the hands of God a gift, the richest that belongs to this world, when it could no longer be kept without violating the more sacred condition, that higher life of the soul to which this is but a circumstance and a shadow? The sacrifice, then, even of a child, though a most painful act, is not necessarily one, which God may not require, nor man truly and holily and lovingly perform.

So much for the general assertion. Let us consider now the particular act, remembering all the while that the deed was not actually performed. It is difficult for us to understand the force of symbolical language among a rude people, whose spoken language gives but a very imperfect utterance to their highest thoughts, and especially when connected with the life of one to whom they look up with a soul of reverence. It is entirely in this light, as a practical parable, that we are to view the intended sacrifice of his son by the Father of the faithful. It is an act teaching, as it could be taught by no other form of speech, and bringing down to the comprehension of the simplest mind, as in no other way, the great truth, that we must be ready to give up at the call of God all that we most value, our lives, our friends, the dearest idol, the single child of our affections; and that when we are ready to do this, God of his infinite mercy will provide for us. It teaches that life is not the most precious boon of heaven, that faith in God will not be lost, that while seeming to give up our only hope, and to our eyes there is left no way of escape, even then God is providing more than he has promised, raising up from the very child, whose life he seems to require, millions who shall

call us blessed, while they rejoice in the lofty faith, which our obedience to God has quickened within them. Such was the lesson taught for thousands of years, and still taught to unnumbered hearts, who dwell upon it with a holy, religious enthusiasm, by this act, at which, though "the flesh may creep with horror," and pronounce it "a lie," the soul kindles with new faith, and declares it a high and inspiring truth. It is only by rising to a level with the loftiest deeds of humanity, that we can see them in all their beauty. The self-denying virtues of the patriot, giving up all for his country's good, to low souls tell only of a weak or disordered mind. He, who gives up all hopes of honor and gain rather than violate his truth, seems to many a visionary and mistaken man. To the priests who looked on in scorn, that great sacrifice, which outshone the brightness of the sun and made the day seem dark, was but the act of a blasphemous or infatuated man; but millions of pure and now sainted spirits, to whom the cross has ever been the emblem of all that is dearest and best, have looked on that hour almost as if there had been condensed into its agony, and the spirit with which it was borne, an atonement, if rightly received, for the sins of a whole world.*

We have now done with this portion of the work before us. In the discussion we have ventured upon inquiries which we always approach with great distrust. A faithful commentary on the difficult passages of Scripture requires a philosophy so deep, a faith so high, and learning so extensive and exact, that few, and those few only with a reverent modesty, should engage upon it. Neither our general knowledge, nor any particular attention to the subject, entitles our remarks to any weight as an authority. We have intentionally confined ourselves to such remarks as might be judged by the common apprehension of a common reader.

* "He that defends the patriarch," says Mr. Parker, "counting it a blameless and beautiful act of piety and faith, performed at the command of God, — what shall be said of him? He proves the worm of superstition not yet dead, nor its fire quenched, and leads weak men to ask, which then had most of Religion, the Christian, who justifies Abraham, or the Pagan Greeks, who condemned Agamemnon? He leads *weak* men to ask; the strong make no question of so plain a matter." These are hard names; but if Mr. Parker insist on applying them to us, we can only say, in the words of young Arthur, "why then you must." But are these denunciatory charges seemly either in a Christian, or a philosophical inquirer after truth?

But what shall we say of these ancient writings? We believe that a special revelation was made by God to Moses, and from time to time to the prophets, leaving to them, however, much of the darkness both of the individual and the age. We believe, and we use nearly the language of Mr. Parker, though in a different sense, that Moses was inspired to give laws, David to compose the hymns of the world, the prophets to deliver such messages as man might need. But these different gifts, directly imparted by God to different men in different degrees, became colored by peculiarities of individual character, and of course mingled with much that is imperfect, but which from the condition of things was necessary, as a connecting medium between the highest spiritual truth and the darkened minds for which it was intended. We believe therefore, though with such limitations as an enlightened criticism must make in reference to particular books, that they are the inspired, but not infallible, records of truth, which God by special revelation has made known to man, and of emotions which God by a special influence has quickened within him.

We believe this, because we find it recognised by Jesus and his apostles; because we cannot in any other way solve the strange enigma of Jewish history; and because the more we read these old works, handed down from the infancy of time, the more do we recognise in them a spiritual greatness, elevation, and depth, which find no resemblance in the writings of other nations, and for which we can in no way account from what we know of the natural powers of man. The Hebrew Psalms — they come to us, like a varied melody, rising and falling as the fingers of God sweep all the chords of the human heart — proclaiming now the heavenly influence that calls it forth, now mingling with those higher strains all that is soft and tender, sweet and sad; and now jarred harshly by the grating dissonance of the earthly instruments, which human passion has thrown out of tune.

Still the world has nothing to compare with them. "They are the despair of imitators; still the uttered prayer of the Christian world. Tell us of Greece, whose air was redolent of song; its language such as Jove might speak; its sages, heroes, poets, honored in every clime, — they have no psalm of prayer and praise like these Hebrews, the devoutest of men, who saw God always before them, ready to take them up when father and mother let them fall." Now as we consider when the

writers of these psalms lived, and how, we cannot on the common principles of human nature account for their existence.

And to go yet farther back, the book of Job, that mystic wail of human suffering, and high expression of heaven-born trust, the trembling fears of man changed to the exultation of gladness through the inspiration of God — sounding as it does from a time which human inquiry cannot reach — its author and its age alike unknown — the book of Job, a startled, painful moan from the infancy of the world, and in some respects the sublimest utterance which its manhood yet has given — like the Nile, that since the Creation has been flowing from the unknown forests of mountains which man has not seen, watering the nations in its progress and a mystery to them all — we only know that man has not placed it there, that God has made it what it is, that its waters, wherever they may begin to flow upon the earth, come down from heaven. And so of the prophets, full of holy declarations which all must understand, yet clothed in hieroglyphics, whose secret meaning the ages alone as they pass are permitted to read. Human ignorance and folly, and a religious zeal that would rashly penetrate the veil under which God hides what yet shall be, had thrown often a false and deceitful light upon them; but there they are, and the more we study, the less can we account for their existence. The world's history has shown nothing like them. Much we do not understand; much is closed in mystery; and there is a mystery upon the sky, a veil of mystery which hides the secrets of each little plant, and conceals from us the hand that forms it; but not the less shall we regard both, and all, as the work of God.

Now this proof cannot be expressed in words. It does not come under the head of logic. It is not demonstration. We cannot perhaps give any definition which may show the precise line, where the usual law of human inspiration is lost in the higher illumination which comes specially from God. Nor is it easy to point out the exact line which separates the light of the setting moon from that of the approaching sun; and in strictness of speech both are from the sun. But no man mistakes them. So are these writings to our minds separated from all works of human genius, and the more we read and compare, giving ourselves up entirely to the spirit of each, the more do we feel the immense distance that stands between the two.

As to their authority, that is lost in the higher authority of

Jesus, as the promise of the flower is lost in the full maturity of the fruit. We do not receive them as containing a clear and authoritative revelation of duty to us. Their peculiar rites and forms, when through them the truths which they contained had ripened in the hearts of men, were thrown aside, and for a clear revelation of truth and duty we go to the New Testament. But in the Old we may still find, as nowhere else, an answer to many of the deepest longings of the soul. Prepared as it was for the infancy of the race, it meets, as nothing else does, the feelings of child-like wonder; and those deep religious emotions, which beginning in childhood go with us, if we are but true to our hearts, through all the advancing stages of the mind. Those old Hebrew melodies, those stories of Abraham and Joseph, of Moses and Ruth, of Samuel, David, Josiah, and Daniel, chiming in, as they do, with the early religious awakenings of the child, — how refreshing it is to turn back to them during the weary journeyings of life, when our hearts are dry and the sentiments of reverence languishing within us, that we may quicken once more, as by a breath from our early home, the religious yearnings of our childhood. We know of no words so full of a beautiful religious spirit, falling like the dews of spring on the young heart, and even from the branches which have been bared to many a storm, calling forth from time to time, as by a renewal of spring, the freshness and the fragrance and the heaven-directed beauty of their early thoughts. We would then put the Old Testament into the hands of the young, that in their hearts they may garner up its images of piety and faith and youthful prayer, and God's love to those who serve Him.

We need not add what are our views of the New Testament. Its inspiration is subject to the same conditions with that of the Old, and there is the same room for critical examination and care. But we do believe its writings on the grounds already stated, and on others peculiar to themselves, the records of a perfect revelation, which comes with the authority of God to the soul of man, harmonizing with the highest laws of his being, and, like those laws, disregarded only at the peril of his soul. We do not believe in a plenary verbal inspiration. We would pay to their language, in which the thought of God is clothed, no blind or superstitious homage; and yet its very words we love and cherish as the richest of all earthly possessions, the marvellously wrought net-work of time, which protects from its violence and storms the seed of eternity, scatter-

ing it broadcast over the world from age to age, and yet always full.

We have said that we regard Christianity as containing the principles of what must be the universal religion. This too Mr. Parker maintains in language of great fervor and beauty. But we were pained* by the manner in which he has spoken of Baptism and the Supper, as either forming no part of Christianity, or as showing the weakness of their author. While Christianity teaches principles that shall fill us with joy in heaven, it also has respect to us as the inhabitants of earth, weighed down by its cares, exposed to its sorrows and temptations. We need therefore not only the naked principles of "absolute religion and morality," but forms suited to our condition. Through a divine wisdom and foresight these forms have been left to be modified by the existing wants of each successive age. But two rites — while the peculiar mode of administering them is left free — Jesus did appoint, and they are so simple, touching, and significant, that we see not how in any age a religious heart can outgrow them. One comes to us as the emblem of purity, by which the parent would dedicate to God the spotless soul which He has given, or by which man would dedicate himself to a religious life; the other, a rite by which he would cherish in himself the tenderest affection for the dearest of God's gifts, a simple form, through which we are to keep alive the memory of a Saviour's love, till all mortal forms are laid aside, and we shall drink it new with him in his Father's kingdom; — a monthly rose, if on such a sub-

* "Did Jesus lay any stress on this watery dispensation? . . . If it came from him, we can only say. There is no perfect guide but the Father." — p. 260.

"The thing," [the Lord's Supper] "may be useful, beautiful, comforting to a million souls; truly it *has* been so. In Christianity there is milk for babes, and meat for men, that the truth may be given as they can receive it. Let each be fed with the Father's bounty,

"Behold the child, by nature's kindly law,
Pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw;
Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
A little louder, but as empty quite." — p. 261.

How can a man, with any becoming sentiment of reverence, love, or, we had almost said, of truthfulness, make this clumsy attempt at ridicule in reference to a rite, which he himself administers in his church, and which, he acknowledges, "may be useful, beautiful, comforting to a million souls"?

ject we may so far imitate the quaintness of an old religious writer, piercing with a thorn the hand that would tear it up, but blooming ever with a divine sweetness for those who cherish it in love.

We have taken up no new work ever, which bore upon its face the appearance of learning so various, extensive, and exact, as this of Mr. Parker's. Authors of all ages and characters, from Homer and the early fathers down to an obscure pamphlet by one Levi Blodget, are here referred to. We have had neither books nor time to examine this multifarious learning. But from the examination we have made, we must say, severe as the charge is upon the work of a scholar, that we can put no confidence in its references or statements. Perhaps enough of loose and careless statements have already been given. We now add a few. To exhaust the subject would, we verily believe, fill up our whole review. We shall adduce only such cases as any one may understand. In a note to page 357, on the genuineness of the Gospels, it is said, "on the affirmative side, see Paley, Norton," &c. "See on the other side," (among others) "Neander, Hug, De Wette," &c. Now as a fact these three German writers are all on the same side with Paley and Norton. P. 114, we are first referred to Augustine, Lactantius, &c., then "on the other hand" to Palfrey, and others, and finally are requested to "see on the other [the third] side." "Constant, Liv. x. ch. vi. treats this with a superficiality unusual even with him, and concludes the doctrine of a Fall is a device of the Priesthood." Note to p. 118. Now Constant in this chapter, which we ask any one who may have the work by him to examine, maintains no such thing, but precisely the reverse.—"The opposition of good and of evil, in the interior of man, has given place to the idea of a fall, a transgression, an original sin." This is a literal translation. Constant then goes on to say that this idea has been strongest where there has been a powerful priesthood, as priests have a powerful interest in maintaining and giving currency to it. Thus the charge of superficiality is due not to Constant, but to Mr. Parker's examination of Constant. These are not exceptions to Mr. Parker's general correctness, but specimens of a degree of carelessness and misapprehension; which must entirely destroy our confidence in his learning, and any value that might otherwise be attached to his notes. In the same careless manner mention is made, p. 409, of "the Clements," as among

the great names of the first centuries belonging to the Greek Christians (in opposition to the Roman;) while of the earlier Clement about all that we know is that he was bishop of Rome, and in the name of the Church of Rome wrote an epistle to the Corinthians. Now it is very easy for any one to string together names without number, and to seem one of the most learned of men, if he has no more regard to accuracy than is here shown. We would ask particular attention to the two instances which follow, as they are indicative of something more than carelessness. "Did Jesus say, I came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and it is easier for Heaven and Earth to pass, than for one jot or tittle of the law to fail? Then he must have doubted, and thought often and with a throbbing heart, * * — many times before the fulness of peace dwelt in him, and he could say, The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshipper shall worship in spirit and in truth." p. 299. In fact this last speech, and we believe there is no doubt on this point, which is from the conversation with the woman of Samaria, was uttered several months before the other, which is from the Sermon on the Mount. But the object was to show the progress in the mind of Jesus, and so the speeches best fitted to the purpose are put into his mouth without any reference to time. But this is not all. Here it suits the present purpose of the writer to represent Jesus as adhering still to the Mosaic law, and therefore he is represented as adhering to it in the Sermon on the Mount. But, by and by, he has another object in view, and then this language is used; "Now another question comes up: Shall the Gentiles keep the old ceremonial law of Moses, and be circumcised? It would seem that men of *common freedom of thought, who had heard the sermon on the mount, would not need miraculous help to decide so plain a question.*" p. 355. And again, when his immediate object requires it; "We may separate the apostolic doctrine into three classes, The Judaizing, the Alexandrine, and the Pauline, each differing more or less essentially *from the obsolete Religion of the sermon on the mount.*" p. 393.

The following instance is of a similar character. Wishing to show the gradual progress of ideas in reference to a future state, he says, "The state of the departed is a gloomy, joyless consciousness; the servant is free from his master; the king has a shadowy grandeur." p. 121. In support of this doctrine, which recognises the existence of the soul after death, reference is

made to Job iii. 19. But on the three hundred and forty fifth page, where the writer has another object in view, he tells us that the author of the book of Job "denies the immortality of the soul." We have nothing to say of either of the interpretations. We believe them both equally false. But we do call attention most seriously to the facts. Here is an author, who has taken upon himself the most fearfully solemn and responsible of all offices, that of changing in most important particulars the religious faith of men; and instead of that reverential deference for the truth, amounting almost to awe, which should mark every word of such a man, we find him not only paying no regard to time, the most important element in the case, but, according to the object that is uppermost in his mind, bringing forward the same words and works to prove facts contradictory to each other. His own feelings throw such a coloring over whatever he sees, that the same sermon on the mount at one time proves an intention of adhering to the Mosaic law, and at another time "no man of common freedom of thought" could draw any such inference from it; at one time the book of Job altogether "denies the immortality of the soul," and at another it tells of "a gloomy, joyless consciousness" after death. We do not on these grounds accuse the author of intentional falsehood, for we do not believe him thus guilty; but we do believe, that his strong desire to make out a case has unconsciously warped his judgment, and obscured the perception of truth.

There is quite too much of this looseness of statement creeping from all sides into our literature. It is not the peculiar views contained in a work like this that we fear. They of themselves can do little harm. But the habits of careless investigation, of laying down impressions for facts and feelings for truth, if it once become the characteristic of our young men, to whom the rising generation must look for instruction, will inevitably lead the way to every species of intellectual, moral, and religious profligacy. The author of this work has qualities of mind too high and rich, and has shown too great a willingness to toil, and struggle on through the hard discouragements that lie in the student's path, to countenance for a moment such a spirit. We must acknowledge our admiration for the true scholar, whose single aim is truth,—to learn, teach, and to obey the truth. His office is the highest which God has given to man. Let not an unhealthy love of fame, still less an ambition to shine the meteor of to-day, only to sink down

in darkness to-morrow ; let no unworthy passion, no impatience under what may seem personal indignity or reproach, no foolish haste to master *this year* all that can be known, or to reform the world before his own mind is formed, lead him to betray his trust. Through sorrow, and clouds, and painful days and nights and years, often with a throbbing heart and an aching head, he must pass ; but the truth shines ever before him brighter and brighter, as he dedicates himself more and more to his work ; and if he faint not and be faithful to the end, it shall at length break forth into the clear and perfect day.

We know how often men are unjustly reproached by connecting them with names already odious, and how cheap and poor a victory is thus gained. It is therefore with extreme reluctance that we institute any comparison between Parker's Discourse of Religion and Paine's Age of Reason. But we feel bound to say, that, having looked through the latter work with special reference to this point, we find there hardly a charge, however gross, against Christianity, the Scriptures, and the prominent characters of the Jewish and Christian dispensation, which is not either expressed, or directly implied, in the former. Both, as well as Pilate who crucified the Saviour, say "we find no fault in the man ;" though to the former work, p. 291, belongs the sole merit of expressing a doubt on this subject. He suggests, however, that "considering the youth of the man, it was a very venial error, to make the most of it." If the Discourse of Religion does not call Paul "a quibbler and a fool," neither does the Age of Reason, as his one prominent characteristic, call Peter, more times than he denied his master, "a dissembler and a liar."* In respect to modes of speech, if the one has more to offend those who confine the term indecency to what affects the senses, the other has more to shock our religious sensibilities. It were easy to prove this by examples ; but we cannot permit our pages to become the

* "Peter dissembles and lies," p. 223. "Simon Peter, a false liar as he was," p. 292. "Peter would now and then [after the ascension] lie to serve his turn," p. 312. One would suppose that this might be sufficient, but twice more, p. 356 and p. 386, he is mentioned with the same disrespect, while hardly the slightest notice is taken of his many and high traits of character. So much for the charge of lying ; but, p. 309, we find this expression, "*selfish* Simon Peter has a cloven tongue of fire in his mouth." There must be some peculiar cause of irritation to induce any one to apply this, the last epithet that can in justice be applied, to the ardent, impulsive, self-forgetting Peter.

arena of so dishonorable a competition. If Paine stands by himself in viewing the outward universe, as the only actual manifestation of the divine nature, so also is he alone in admitting, (whether from a real or a feigned unwillingness to limit the powers of the Almighty,) that God can impart a supernatural revelation to man. In the looseness and authoritative dogmatism of their assertions, it is hard to say to which the palm belongs; we leave that honor to be shared between them. And yet, while in their worst qualities, the two works have so much in common, in their best qualities there is an almost immeasurable distance between them. The one rests on a material, the other on a spiritual philosophy. The one is gross, sensual, earthly, even in its highest thoughts; the other, refined, spiritual, lofty. Both maintain the doctrines of morality and religious worship; but with one the morality is low, and God afar off; with the other morality is a divine life of truth and love, while God is a spirit, ever present in the soul, pure and holy, most communicating with those, who love and serve Him best. If any therefore shall read and repeat the comparison with which this paragraph begins, let them remember that a full and equal justice requires, that the contrast with which it ends should not be forgotten.

Mr. Parker shows singular sensitiveness, pp. 25, 91, 367, and elsewhere, at the mention of the names Atheist, Pantheist, Infidel, and has made a list of the great men to whom one or another of these epithets has been given, only because they were so far in advance of their age. The personal application intended is too plain to be mistaken. But have these names been given only to those who were before their age? Because so often misapplied, have they never been, and can they never be, justly applied? We neither make, nor remotely suggest, any application in the present instance. We only ask Mr. Parker to remember that the terms, bigot, superstitious, fanatic, pharisee, and hypocrite, whether directly applied, or only insinuated as belonging to those whose crime consists in differing from himself, are quite as unpleasant, and may be as unjust, as those from which his nerves shrink with so keen a smart, and that the use of them may indicate as strongly as language can, an exclusive and intolerant spirit, and bear witness to as much of narrowness and bigotry and self-righteousness, as any terms that man can employ. "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are," has in no age been confined to religious form-

alists. Its spirit breathes through many a page, whose professed object is to put it down ; but never in the works of those great but humble men, whose souls, subdued by a high religious faith, were pained by the corruptions of the church and world, and, after solemn dedication of themselves by prayer and inward purification, and long and laborious thought, went forth on their immortal errand. And how far from anything of such a spirit was he, who, when himself reviled, reviled not again, but bore his sorrows in meekness, mingling with tears of love the severest denunciations against those who would not hear that they might live, bearing his cross in silence, and in his sharpest anguish uttering a prayer that they who do this wrong may be forgiven.

But it is time that we should sum up the opinion which we have formed from a very careful examination of the work before us. It is plainly the work of one thoroughly in earnest. But while it has the virtues, it exhibits, in quite as remarkable a degree, the faults of such a mind. It gives no evidence of calm, dispassionate inquiry ; and no more has it the faculty of presenting subjects and opinions as they are, than colored glass or a disturbed fountain can give, as they are, the objects which it reflects. We do not believe there is intentional unfairness. But we can hardly read three sentences in the historical parts, without seeing by the tone and bearing, as clearly as Solomon in judging between the two mothers, which way the author's affections lean. Now, while this adds to the eloquence of his work, it wholly disqualifies him for the office of a true and impartial inquirer. As a thinker, he shows himself perfectly fearless, ready to grapple with the most difficult problems, and sometimes quite felicitous in his solutions, but with nothing of that nice discrimination which detects the precise point on which perplexing and important questions turn, and which more than any other intellectual quality gains our confidence. His range of reading is vast ; we doubt whether any young man among us has read more extensively on moral and religious subjects ; and his mind, not overmastered by his reading, acts vigorously through it all. But here again is the same want of exactness which marks his habits of thought, and here as there, entirely destroys our confidence. We see nowhere proof of a suspension of the judgment over disputed facts, till all the nice points have been examined, the evidence on which they rest carefully weighed, and their precise value and bearing ascertained. He seems not indeed to have the power of doubting. On subjects

in which he is deeply interested, however the most learned might hesitate to pronounce an opinion, with him it is always yes or no. We would call attention to this as a most remarkable fact. Quite a young man has written a work, involving the discussion of nearly all the most difficult and disputed questions connected with religion, — questions so various and extensive, that the labors of a long life would not suffice to master the evidence belonging to them, and so important often, that the labors of a long and valuable life have been devoted to a single branch; and yet from beginning to end, except on two or three trifling matters, we do not find the expression of a single doubt, or so much as an intimation that there could be any doubt on any subject. He is, therefore, the most dogmatical of writers. While he declaims against all authority, we know of no author who draws so heavily upon our faith. Coming forward with the most undoubting assertions, in the face of what we earnestly believe, and pointing to what seems a terrible array of German artillery half hid in their intrenchments, and, like the Europeans in their early dealings with the savages, firing a musket or two to let us see what dreadful havoc those big guns might make if they were all let loose upon us, he demands of us unconditional submission; — that we should leave the city of our faith, where our fathers dwelt and where we have enjoyed so much, and come over to him in the open field. We must give up our pleasant homes, and our temples, and our strong fortresses, lest they fall upon our heads, and come and live under the open sky, which cannot fall. True it cannot fall, and our houses may, but in the bleak atmosphere of life, it is well to have some shelter for our heads and for those we love. We cannot give up our faith. But the subject is too serious for illustrations like this. The work does not confine itself to the legitimate sources of reasoning. Its rhetoric is more remarkable than its learning or its philosophy. Its power of sarcasm is its strongest feature, and next to that a high and sometimes almost holy eloquence. They who rejoice in what he has done will find their joy in the passages of brilliant eloquence, that burst out here and there, and rise like a heavenly anthem above the harsh sounds of warlike violence; and they whose feelings are most wounded will suffer, not from his learning or his reasoning, but from the scorn or levity with which things sacred to their hearts are touched. In the poetry and rhetoric, not in its learning or its philosophy, are the real merits and weighty offences of the work. It never re-

minds us of the profound philosophical thinkers, or the great scholars, who have been such benefactors to mankind ; but sometimes we seem to be listening to the glowing descriptions of Everett, the higher strains, somewhat diluted, even of Wordsworth, and again it is as if the sneer of Hume, without that perfect finish, which makes invisible the instrument that cuts, were added to the levity of Voltaire, divested of all his wit, or as if the scorn of Gibbon, without his antique dignity, were embodied in the coarse invective of Thomas Paine.

Our pleasant and our painful task is done. We have spoken freely ; but, we trust, in the spirit of love, and also in that other spirit, which should always attend it as the helm of the ship, guiding while it seems to follow, the spirit of truth. We have spoken earnestly, and sometimes without being able to conceal our surprise at statements and reasonings for which our previous slight acquaintance with Mr. Parker as a writer, and our respect for him as a scholar, had in no way prepared us. Often in the progress of our work has a more careful examination obliged us to modify or entirely to change our first favorable impressions, while in no instance has it been attended with an opposite result. We have been sadly disappointed in the work. We look upon it as wholly unworthy of its author's character and mind, and believe that he too, when the heat of the battle is over, will look upon it as a strange blending of youthful aspiration and youthful folly. We deeply regret that one possessing a mind capable of what is so high should descend so low ; and especially that he could not feel it right to confine himself in this, his first important essay, to what is so beautiful and true, the positive part of his belief, reserving for a more deliberate investigation and a riper judgment, the expression of those views which strike at the foundation of what is sacred to so many hearts. As it is, we trust that he will not, according to the eastern proverb, be the slave of the word which he has spoken, nor suffer himself, even by the stings of personal reproach, to be forever exiled from the great truths which he has now left behind ; but that forgetting the things which are past, he will press on with less of scorn, and more of meekness, diligence and care, to the attainment of thorough, discriminating, and comprehensive views. Then, with the fine powers of a really gifted mind, and a capacity for labor possessed by very few, he may raise a monument to himself and to the truth, which shall stand erect when this hasty work shall be forgotten.

J. H. M.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Works of Jonathan Edwards, D. D., late President of Union College. With a Memoir of his Life and Character.
By TRYON EDWARDS. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 518 and 556. Andover. 1842.

THE two Edwardses, father and son, held a high rank among our metaphysical divines, at a time when metaphysical theology was in more repute than now. The former is known to the learned, especially abroad, chiefly by his *Treatise on the Will*, which entitles him to a place among the subtlest writers on that intricate and perplexing subject.

The family of Edwards, as we are informed by the brief memoir prefixed to the present volumes, is of Welsh origin. The first of the family, of whom any notice is preserved, is the Rev. Richard Edwards, who was a clergyman of the established church, in London, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and who, according to tradition, came from Wales. After his death, his wife, who had married again, came to Connecticut, about 1640, with her son, William Edwards, then young, and settled at Hartford. William Edwards and his son Richard, were both merchants, and continued to reside at Hartford. The elder President Edwards was a grandson of the latter, his father being a clergyman, and his mother, the daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, Mass. The second President, whose works are here collected, was born at Northampton, May 26, 1745, being descended on the mother's side from the family of Pierrepont, who early settled in Roxbury, Mass. The well known Thomas Hooker, called the "father of the Connecticut Churches," was also numbered by him among his ancestors.

When he was six years old, 1751, his father removed from Northampton to Stockbridge, then containing twelve families of whites, and one hundred and fifty families of Indians. His "daily schoolmates and playfellows," he tells us, "were Indian boys," and the Indian language was more familiar with him than his mother tongue. "All my thoughts," he says, "ran in Indian." He "often dreamed in Indian." He was graduated at Princeton in 1765, and was settled in the ministry at White Haven (within the town of New Haven) in 1769. A portion of his people, however, were dissatisfied with his stern theology, and some of them, as the account says, went over to the school of Priestley. His connexion with them was after some years

dissolved, and he was settled at Colebrook, Connecticut, in 1796. In 1799 he was elected President of Union College, at Schenectady, N. Y., and died in 1801.

In the character of his mind, he very closely resembled his father, as their lives had several very striking points of coincidence. To the father, we believe, is generally conceded the palm of genius, though the son is regarded as the more skilful dialectician. The father, said Dr. Emmons, had more *reason*, but the son was the better *reasoner*.

The two volumes, the title of which is placed at the head of this notice, contain, besides the short Memoir, a collection of the works of Dr. Edwards, most of which have been before published, but some of which are now "for the first time edited from his manuscripts." Of his works the two longest by far are his Reply to Dr. Chauncy's "Salvation for All Men," and a Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity in reply to Dr. West. On these his reputation as a "Divine and Philosopher" chiefly rests. They make up, with three or four short pieces in addition, the first volume. The second volume contains twenty-nine Sermons, several of them being occasional sermons before printed, and a selection of several short articles contributed by the author to a theological Magazine. The volumes are well printed, and furnished with a sufficiently copious index.

To those who are fond of reading the metaphysical divines of the last century, and tracing the changes which have been, from time to time, introduced into American theology, these volumes will prove very acceptable, and they deserve a place on the shelves of our public Libraries.

The senior Edwards, as it is well known, laid the foundation of those "Improvements in Theology," as they are termed, called Hopkinsianism, formerly *Edwardean*, or *new divinity*. Among these improvements one of the most important, according to the son, relates to Liberty and Necessity. Before the time of his father, he says, "the Calvinists were nearly driven out of the field by the Arminians, Pelagians, and Socinians. Watts and Doddridge had 'bowed in the house of Rimmon.'" Edwards came to the rescue, and put an end to the unseemly triumphs of the Arminians, by introducing the distinction between natural and moral necessity and inability, a distinction, we will not say with Dr. West, without a difference, but certainly one which, connected with Edwards's doctrine of predestination, does not help the Calvinists so far as regards the *practical* objections to their system. And so, we believe, it is generally felt. It requires something more than a metaphysical subtlety, at this time of day, to save Calvinism.

Critical Essays, on a few Subjects connected with the History and present Condition of Speculative Philosophy. By FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M. Boston: H. B. Williams.

THIS excellent volume is a republication of a series of articles, that first appeared in the *Christian Examiner*, and the *North American Review*. They attracted much attention when they were published, by the calm and sustained elegance of their style, their clearness and depth of thought, and their correct moral and religious tone. They appeared, from time to time, in the midst of extravagant opinions and ancient fallacies again revived; and they contrasted forcibly with the vapid sentimentalities and vague declamation, which were taken by many people as the indications of a higher philosophy about to dawn upon the world. It is but a short time since beardless young men, and maidens just entered upon their teens, who had possibly worried through a dozen pages of German speculation, and perhaps dipped into the eloquent lectures of Cousin, fancied themselves qualified to pass sentence upon the philosophy of Locke, as superficial and sensual. The mood of mind which then prevailed in certain circles was too absurd and extravagant to last long, and too ludicrous to do much harm. We never dreamed of any other conclusion to the philosophical vertigo than a speedy return to common sense. Accordingly we hear but little now of the enthusiastic nonsense, which a twelvemonth since resounded in many a fashionable drawing-room, and round many an æsthetic tea-table. We believe even Gœthe's licentious novels have ceased to be considered "religious even to piety," as the *Dial* once pronounced his "Elective Affinities," the most licentious and detestable work of modern literature, to be.

If the philosophical fever led to no other good result, it is entitled to be respectfully remembered for being the occasion that called forth these able papers. We are glad to see them collected and published in a permanent form. They are a valuable addition to the philosophical literature of the country and age. They are rich in thought, and a model of style; and will be read with profound interest long after the delusions of the day, the follies and affectations of æsthetic ladies and gentlemen, and the blasphemous ravings of the Chardon Street bedlamites, have sunk into merited and inevitable oblivion.

A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. By RICHARD J. CLEVELAND. In two volumes. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1842. pp. 249 — 240.

THESE volumes comprise an account of the incidents, adventures, and enterprises of a life marked by unusual vicissitudes.

Mr. Cleveland began his nautical and commercial career nearly half a century ago, and continued it about twenty-five years. During this period, he engaged in hazardous and daring voyages, encountered difficulties which would have baffled the energies of a dozen ordinary men, met and overcame dangers which might have appalled the stoutest heart. The simple narrative of these enterprises, engaged in for the honorable purpose of acquiring an independence, is now given to the public. It makes no pretensions to literary elegance, and yet has the best qualities of the narrative style, being clear, correct, and graphic; free from the fashionable exaggerations of the times, but not wanting in spirit. It is principally, if not wholly, drawn up from journals kept at the time, and has an air of freshness and originality, which nothing but the vivid impressions of personal experience could have imparted.

Besides a narrative of remarkable excellence for its perspicuity, Mr. Cleveland has interwoven many lively sketches of character, drawn with a few bold and vigorous touches. The very interesting history of the young Count de Rouissillon, — a Polish nobleman, exiled for political causes from his country, with whom Mr. Cleveland and his friend Mr. Shaler accidentally became acquainted, and whom they invited to accompany them in one of the longest voyages here recorded, — will at once occur to the reader's memory. The sketch of quite a different personage, the black man George, who was shipped by Mr. Cleveland in one of the early voyages, and remained a faithful and attached servant as long as he lived, is another portraiture nearly as interesting as the former.

In the course of his voyages, Mr. Cleveland was much more successful in making fortunes than in keeping them. No less than three times the much desired independence was not only within his reach, but actually in his hands, when suddenly the scene was changed, either by the treachery of the elements, or the greater treachery of the fraud and avarice of men; and the daring mariner was left to begin anew his chase, over the waves of the great deep, after the gifts of the fickle goddess. But his courage seemed never to have failed him in the midst of danger, nor his upright mind ever to have been driven from its high, disinterested, and honorable tone of feeling, by the piracy of an Admiral Cochrane, or the roguery of an Arismendi; the former of whom robbed him of his hard earnings, by the legal forms of an Admiralty Court, and the latter cheated him, by a great mercantile fraud.

The straight-forward narratives and simple statements in these two volumes give us a most favorable impression of the author's character. They indicate intellectual powers of no common

sort, and moral qualities still rarer. Bravery, temperance, integrity, simplicity, and kindness seem to be its elements. The suppression of a mutiny on board the *Caroline*; the fact, that during all his fatigues and exposures he has totally abstained from ardent spirits, wine, and beer; the retrieving of the fortunes of the *Beaver*, after she had been abandoned by the owner to the underwriters; the confidence so readily placed in the verbal assurances of the venerable looking gentleman, who was the President of the Insurance Company, and received him with great politeness on his return, are strikingly characteristic, and show at once the real temper of the man. And the last shows, too, what a difference there is sometimes between *assurance* and *insurance*.

We dismiss this book with a strong commendation for its manly and simple spirit, and the high moral tone that pervades it. We hope it will be widely read by the young, who are just entering on the career of the business of life. The tendencies of the present age are not specially calculated to form upright and disinterested characters, as the frightfully numerous frauds that have come to light within a few years past, and are daily alarming the community, too sadly show.

Virgil with English Notes, prepared for the use of Classical Schools and Colleges. By FRANCIS BOWEN, A. M. Boston: Published by D. H. Williams. 1842. 8vo. pp. 600.

A GOOD service has been rendered to Classical learning in the United States, by the publication of this edition of *Virgil*. The text is an excellent one, and the typographical execution of the book does honor to the University Press, both by its elegance and correctness. The editor has made good use of all the best authorities in the preparation of his introductions and notes. The life of *Virgil* is well told, and the general views of the peculiar characteristics of each several kind of poetry are stated clearly and simply. This part of the editor's task will be peculiarly useful to the young scholar. The notes are partly grammatical and partly explanatory of difficult passages. Occasionally the editor calls the student's attention to the beauties of thought and expression, in a way that cannot fail to excite an interest and cultivate a taste for something higher than the mere words. Notes of this kind, when drawn up with good sense, are of great importance in an edition of an ancient Classic, because they serve to counteract the natural tendency of school and college training to confine the scholar's attention to mere philological topics. We have read a large portion of Mr. Bowen's Notes, and like them much. They are excellently adapted to make the student not merely understand the meaning of *Virgil's* words, but to make him feel all those exquisite touches, for which the poetry of the illustrious Roman is so distinguished.

NOTE. — A review of Dr. Follen's works, already in type, together with notices of books received and others, are unavoidably deferred to another number.

INDEX.

A.

Allen, Joseph, his "Minister's account of his Stewardship," a sermon, reviewed, 51—quoted, 53, 59, 64—his various labors and influence 63—65.

Asia Minor, Fellows' travels in, reviewed, 218—244.

Authority of Jesus Christ, as a religious teacher, 137—shown from the relations ascribed to him in the Scriptures, 140—from his own language and direct assertions, 141—in the manner of his teaching, 141—from the impression made, 142—from his miracles, 143—145—its practical uses, 146—in authenticating the instructions of Jesus, 146—148—in recommending them to the mass of men, 149, 150—analogy between the reliance upon, and need of, authority in religion, and the affairs of life, 150—156.

B.

Barrett's lectures on the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church noticed, 275.

Bowen's Essays, noticed, 398.

Bowen's Virgil, 400.

Bryant, W. C., his popular considerations on Homœopathy, reviewed, 245—272.

C.

Cambridge Miscellany, the, noticed, 274.

Carpenter, Dr. Lant, memoirs of by his son, reviewed, 102—Dr. C.'s birth and early life, 104—at Northampton, 103—goes to Glasgow, 106—state of his mind, 109—librarian at Liverpool, 110—accepts the invitation of the Exeter Congregation, 113—publications of at this period, ib.—appearance of, and manners described, 115, 116—removes to Bristol, 117—reply to Magee, ib.—Apostolical Harmony of the Gospels, ib.—travels for his health, 119—Martineau's reminiscences of, quoted, 120—123—his colleague, 123—travels again for his health, 123—his death, 124.

China and Great Britain, 281.

Cleveland's Voyages, noticed, 398.

Coleridge, Henry Nelson, his introduction to the study of the Greek classic poets, noticed, 276.

D.

D'Aubigné's history of the Reformation, vol. 3d, reviewed, 19—character of the work, and its success, ib.—epitome of its contents, 20—37.

Dewey's Discourses on human life, 135.

Domestic Worship; by W. H. Furness, noticed, 377.

E.

East Lexington Church, a Sonnet, 280.

Edwards, Jonathan, the works of, noticed, 396.

F.

Fellows' travels in Asia Minor, 218 — little known of the author, 219 — arrival at Smyrna from London, *ib.* — worship of the Greek Church, 221 — ruins in the neighborhood, 222 — Thyatira, inscriptions, 222, 223 — Khans, 224 — Troy, 226 — ruins at Ezani, 229 — picture of Turkish private life, 230 — 232 — remarkable ruins, 233 — 235 — Xanthus, 238 — character of the Turk, 240 — little hope of his conversion to Christianity, 243, 244.

Fiction, its origin, 1 — 3 — the various forms it takes, 3 — among the ancients, 4 — not found in the Hebrew literature, 6, 7 — the influence of Christianity upon, 10 — will supersede it, and in what way, 8 — 14 — the new form it will take, 14 — character of Scott as a writer of fiction, 10, 11 — of Shakespeare, 15 — Mackenzie, *ib.* — Hawthorne, *ib.* — Dickens, 15 — 19.

Follen, Dr. Charles, his works, noticed, 280.

G.

Gaussen on plenary inspiration reviewed, 319 — object of the work, 326 — sophistical character of the book, 327 — declamatory rather than argumentative, 328 — a specimen of its reasoning given, 329 — of its declamation, 329, 330 — just notions of inspiration, 330 — 337.

Gray, Frederick T., Rev., his two sermons "Christ and him Crucified," reviewed, 51 — character of, and quoted, 65, 66.

Great Britain and China, causes of the war between, investigated, 281 — reasons, as assigned by Mr. Adams, examined, and their soundness denied, 281 — 298 — the real causes enumerated, 299 — 312 — motives actuating the Chinese, 312 — 317 — probable results of the conflict, 317 — 319.

H.

History and prospects of Unitarianism considered with regard to the general laws of a religious reform, 156 — 189.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, M. D., his lectures on Homœopathy and kindred delusions reviewed, 245 — four popular delusions stated, 246 — their bearing on the question of Homœopathy, *ib.* — reason for investigating the subject, 247 — true philosophical principles on which such investigation should be conducted, 247 — 250 — account of Homœopathy, (work quoted,) 251, 252 — character of the evidence adduced in its support considered at length, 253 — 272.

Howitt's, W., student-life in Germany, reviewed, 71 — 85 — character of, 72.

Howitt, Mary, her juvenile books noticed, 278.

I.

Inspiration, 204 — defined, 205 — presumptive considerations in its favor, 206 — 209 — positive arguments for its truth in the New Testament writers, 209 — 214 — in the Old Testament writers, 218.

J.

Jones, Abner, life of, by his son, 133.

Jouffroy's theory of a religious reform applied to the history and present state of Unitarianism, 156 — 189.

L.

Lockhart's ancient Spanish ballads noticed, 272.

Luther, events of his life from D'Aubigné's history, from his confinement in the castle of Wartburg, to his disputes with Zwingli, 21 — 35.

M.

Martineau's, James, reminiscences of Dr. Carpenter, 120.

Martineau, Harriet, her "Hour and the Man," reviewed, 190 — characteristics of her mind and writings, 191 — Deerbrook, 192 — Settlers at home, &c. 192, 193 — Tous-saint L'Ouverture, 195-198 — work quoted, 198-201 — Slavery, 202.

N.

New Hampshire Book, noticed, 129.
Newell's discourse on the annual fast, 279.

O.

"Object of the Ministry," a Sermon by Ephraim Peabody, 136.
Occasional Sermons, reviewed, 51.
Offering of Sympathy, 135.
Ordination services, 54 — ancient and modern customs and observances compared, 54-60.
Osgood's, Samuel, Rev., Farewell Address, reviewed and quoted, 67, 68.

P.

Parker's lecture on the laboring classes, noticed, 277.
Parker's discourse of matters pertaining to religion, reviewed, 337 — briefly characterized, 338 — its theory of inspiration examined at length, 339-350 — summary of principles, 350 — the question of miracles, 351-370 — the Bible, 370-388 — examples of inaccuracy and carelessness, 388-390 — the "Discourse of Religion" compared with the Age of Reason, 391 — opinion of the work, 393-395.
Parish divisions, 52 — advantages, 53.
Parkman's, Francis, Rev., offering of sympathy to the afflicted, 135.
Pastoral office, intrinsic dignity of the, 60-63.
Philosophy of Fiction, 1.

R.

Ray's report of the Maine insane hospital, 278.
Reformation in France, 35-37.

S.

Sagalassus, in Pisidia, ruins of, 233.
Selge, ancient capital of Pisidia, 235.
Stetson, Caleb, his discourse on the day of the annual fast, 279.
Student-life in Germany, 70 — of the student's admission, university laws and punishments, 72, 73 — unions and customs of, described, 74, 75 — duels, 75-78 — his room, 79 — his studies, 81 — the Burschenschaft, 82 — its principles, 83 — follies and absurdities of student-life gradually dying out, 84, 85.

T.

Temptation in the wilderness, 37 — common theories concerning unsatisfactory, *ib.* — the literal scheme considered, 37-39 — a new one proposed, 40 — stated and illustrated, 40-50.
Theopneusty, or the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, 319.
Thoughts on moral and spiritual culture, by R. C. Waterston, 126.
Turk, moral character of the, 240.

U.

Unitarianism, history and prospects of, considered with regard to the laws of religious reform, 156 — facts to be accounted for enumerated, 157-159 — theory by which they are to be explained stated, 160 — first stage of a reform, 161-164 — second stage, 164-171 — third stage, 171-176 — errors in preceding statements corrected, 176-179 — application of the theory to explain the facts first enumerated, 179-189.

V.

Vaughan, John, Furness's discourse on the death of, 131.

W.

Ware's Inquiry, reviewed, 86 — its topics, 87 — quoted largely, on the evidence that should satisfy

an inquirer, 88-90 — on the di- Waterston's Thoughts on Moral and
vine attributes of wisdom and Spiritual Culture, noticed, 126.
power, 90, 91 — on evil, 92-96
— concluding remarks on the X.
Wants of the Divinity School,
100-102. Xanthus, in Lycia, 238, 239.

ERRATA — LAST NUMBER.

Page 192, line 10, *for* love *read* home.

" 236, " 19, *for* notwithstanding *read* withstanding, and for the suc-
ceeding semicolon substitute a comma.

" 244, " 21, *delete* in *before* pinning.

" 278, " 17, *for* in *read* we.